

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1249718-1

Total Deleted Page(s) = 31

Page 13 ~ Duplicate;
Page 14 ~ Duplicate;
Page 16 ~ Duplicate;
Page 17 ~ Duplicate;
Page 25 ~ Duplicate;
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Page 108 ~ b3;
Page 109 ~ b3;
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Page 111 ~ b3;
Page 112 ~ b3;
Page 113 ~ b3;
Page 117 ~ b3;
Page 118 ~ b3;
Page 129 ~ Duplicate;
Page 185 ~ b3;
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Page 187 ~ b3;

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 11-13-52

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT :

Tolson	
Ladd	
Nichols	
Belmont	
Clegg	
Glavin	
Harbo	
Rosen	
Tracy	
Laughlin	
Mohr	
Winterrowd	
Tele. Rm.	
Holloman	
Gandy	

Don Surine phoned stating that he had in his possession one of the letters which Earl Browder was sending out soliciting funds for the trial of he and his wife. The letter is dated 10-18-52 and makes allegations that Browder is being forced by the Government to become a stool-pigeon and that his civil rights are being infringed. Surine stated he was sending a copy of the letter so we would have it for record purposes in the event we did not already have it.

When the same is received here it will be routed to the attention of the Domestic Intelligence Division.

CC: MR. LADD
CC: MR. BELMONT

JJM:HCW

INDEXED - 20
RECORDED - 20

21-113

100-3971-633
NOV 20 1952

b6
b7C

62 DEC 1 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/61 BY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/61 BY

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40-3798-633

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/29/07 BY [redacted]

REC'D NOV 10 1952

EARL BROWDER
7 HIGHLAND PLACE
YONKERS, N. Y.

October 18, 1952.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Laughlin _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

Dear Fellow American:

On September 30, my wife and I were seized by F.B.I. agents and charged with the "crime" that almost three years ago she declared in a citizenship proceedings that she had no "beliefs" about Communism and that both of us declared she was not a member of the Communist Party. We spent 10 days in prison before we could get bail, because the District Attorney placed unusual restrictions, and refused bail unless he could publicize those who furnished it. The District Attorney openly stated in Court that he considered us unworthy of consideration because we had not "co-operated" in the persecution of Communists, thus confirming my private advices that the purpose of the Government was to force me to act as a police agent under threat of imprisonment of my wife.

My wife has never been a member of the Communist Party. I myself have had no connection with it since 1946, when I was expelled for refusing to approve its new policies. For making a simple statement of fact to this effect, the Government accuses us of a "crime" for which conviction can result in long prison sentences. I am enclosing some newspaper clippings which will give you the immediate facts of the case, and which also reflect the general opinion that the motive of the prosecution is cheap political demagoguery and the demand that I shall become an informer.

The Government's case rests upon the assumption that Mrs. Browder, as my wife and close associate, must have believed in Communism and have been a member of the Party. It is very important for American civil liberties that this doctrine of "guilt by association" should be defeated in the Courts. We expect to win this case.

My wife and I have no financial resources or organizational support in making this fight. It will be difficult and costly. But we do not wish to join any established organization or form a new committee, because this would only open the way for the authorities to conduct new harrassments. We find the simplest and safest manner in which interested persons can help us is by making direct contributions as from one individual to another.

This letter is a personal appeal to you to help us win this fight by making a financial gift, small or large, to me as an individual, using the enclosed contribution form. With your help we will win, and it will be a victory for the whole American people.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Earl Browder

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS
on the
BROWDER CASE

The following story is by the Associated Press, as presented
in the Yonkers Herald-Statesman of October 1, 1952:

F.B.I. Arrests Earl Browder In N.Y. And Wife Here

WASHINGTON (AP) — Earl Browder, of Yonkers, N. Y., former top man in the American Communist Party, and his wife, were arrested today on charges of making false statements in a naturalization proceeding.

The Justice Department announced the arrests, made in the New York City area. It said the two were taken into custody after a Federal grand jury in New York returned an indictment charging they lied by stating, when Mrs. Browder sought naturalization papers, that she had never been a member of the Communist Party.

Browder, sixty-one, one-time Communist candidate for President, was picked up by FBI agents on the street in the vicinity of 20 Cornelius Street, in Manhattan.

Wife Arrested in Yonkers

Mrs. Browder, fifty-five, was arrested at the Browder apartment at 7 Highland Place, in Yonkers.

The department said the grand jury indictment contained four counts accusing Mrs. Browder of false statements and one similar count against her husband.

The maximum penalties, in the event of convictions, would involve

20 years imprisonment and \$20,000 in fines for Mrs. Browder, and five years imprisonment and a \$5,000 fine for the former secretary general of the Communist Party in the United States. Maximum penalties, however, are seldom imposed.

Expelled From Party

Browder, a native of Kansas, lost his job as party leader in 1946 in a squabble over his alleged departure from Marx-Lenin principles during World War II, when Browder presided over what was then represented as a dissolution of the Communist Party in this country. The party expelled him from membership at the end of the war.

Attorney General McGranery said in a formal statement on the arrests:

"This is still another step in the program of the Department of Justice of patient, thorough, intelligent effort to protect our internal security against those who would tear down the freedoms which our Constitutional form of democratic government guarantees."

Justice Department records show Mrs. Browder, Russian-born,

first entered the United States illegally from Canada in 1933 and was ordered deported in 1940. However, she offered to depart voluntarily and the deportation order was then lifted. Later, she reentered the United States from Canada as a legal immigrant and filed for naturalization.

Charge Involves '49 Oath

The indictment charged that at the naturalization hearings in 1949, she falsely swore she had never been a Communist, and Browder testified that she was never a member of the party.

Prior to running for President in 1940, Browder had been convicted in 1917 on charges of conspiring to influence draft-age men to violate the World War I Draft Act. For this, he served two years in Leavenworth Penitentiary and paid a \$1,000 fine.

Browder also was convicted in the New York City Federal Court in January, 1940, for unlawful use of a passport. His \$1,000 fine and sentence of two years imprisonment was affirmed by the Supreme Court the following year and he began serving his time in March, 1941.

Commutated By F.D.R.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt commuted his sentence after 14 months. The White House issued a statement at the time saying the sentence was unusually long for such an offense. It said, too, the President believed "the principle of obedience to law had been sufficiently vindicated" and that commutation would have a "tendency to promote national unity and allay any feeling which may exist in some minds that the unusually long sentence was by way of penalty" because of Browder's political views.

The Justice Department recounted today, that after Browder's expulsion from the Communist Party in 1946, he went to Soviet Russia and—by his own description—was received there as "an old and trusted friend." Thereafter, he was named representative in this country for Soviet publishing houses.

He told a Senate committee two years ago that his visit to Moscow was to establish that he had "not broken any friendly relations with the Soviet Union."

He and Raissa Berkman were married in Moscow in September, 1926.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1952.

Action on Browder

Earl Browder was born sixty-one years ago into a poor Kansas family. He joined the Communist party in 1920. By 1930 he was general secretary of the United States Communist party. In 1940, just after the Nazi-Soviet pact, Browder was convicted of passport fraud and jailed. But after Russia, and later the United States, entered the war President Roosevelt pardoned Browder. He emerged from prison to become a symbol of Communist cooperation in a "popular front" against fascism.

Then in 1946 the party line switched abruptly from "popular front" cooperation to militant communism. Browder was accused of "collaborationism," and read out of

the party. Shortly thereafter he went to Moscow and returned with a concession to sell Russian books in the United States. He was in the news briefly in 1950 when he testified before a Senate investigating committee that charges that Owen Lattimore was a Communist agent were "false." Since then Browder has lived in obscurity.

Last week Browder was in trouble once more. On Tuesday he and his wife were indicted by a Federal grand jury in New York on charges of making false statements in connection with an application for naturalization filed by Browder's Russian-born wife in 1946. The principal Government allegation was that the Browners had perjured themselves in saying that Mrs. Browder had never been a Communist party member.

In representing the indictment, United States Attorney Miles Lane said "the action has no purpose except that they've violated the law." Nevertheless there was considerable speculation about why the Government had let Browder alone for so long and then suddenly clamped down.

One theory is that the Government is putting pressure on Browder to talk about the Communist party. The Government, the theory runs, believes that Browder has a vast amount of information on Communist espionage in this country, and that perhaps he can be induced to talk. Another theory is that the Justice Department, because of the importance of the issue of communism in the election campaign, is determined to leave nothing undone in "cracking down on the Communists."

The DAILY NEWS, of October 6, carried the following item by Danton Walker:

... Attorney General McGranery tossing all the hot cases of his department into the courts, primarily because he doesn't want his administration to be questioned later about holding up cases. . . .

40-3798-633

[REDACTED]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/01 BY [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
PLACE
POSTAGE
STAMP
HERE

EARL BROWDER

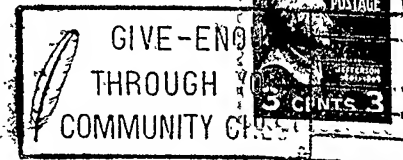
7 HIGHLAND PLACE

APT. 3-F

YONKERS 5, N. Y.

40-3798-633

40-3798-633



The Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

[redacted]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

November 13, 1952

40-3798-634
Mr. Frank R. Mann
Director
Kansas Child Evangelism Fellowship
921 Kansas Avenue
Topeka, Kansas

Dear Mr. Mann:

I have received your letter dated November 6, 1952, and the enclosed material and your courtesy in furnishing this information is greatly appreciated.

In the event any information comes to your attention in the future which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Kansas City Office located at 707 U. S. Court House Building, Kansas City 6, Missouri.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

2 - cc Kansas City
2 - cc New York

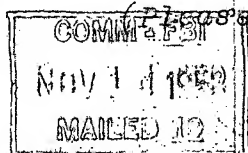
Bufiles contain no information concerning the correspondent.

Mr. Mann enclosed material received by him from Earl Browder who was recently arrested on a charge of having made false statements in connection with his wife's naturalization.

The enclosures to the correspondent's letter consisted of a form letter from Browder dated October 13, 1952, referring to his arrest by the FBI. He refers to the arrest as "persecution" and makes an appeal for funds for his defense. Also enclosed was a contribution coupon with spaces listed for the names and addresses of the contributors; an envelope bearing the stamped address of Earl Browder, and a paper containing what purports to be copies of newspaper clippings regarding Browder's arrest.

(Please see next page)

T.OC:jdt



RECORDED 1952

SAC, New York:

In the event your office is not in receipt of the above material pertaining to Browder and is desirous of obtaining copies, you should request copies from the Bureau.

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Laughlin _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1954
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Kansas Child Evangelism Fellowship
921 Kansas Avenue
Topeka, Kansas

November 6, 1952

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing letter and material received through
the mail from Earl Browder. Perhaps you are aware of this,
but if not maybe this will be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Frank R. Moore

Director of Kansas

EXPEDITE PROCESSING
NOV 10 1952

RECORDED - 96

140-3798-34

NOV 7 1952

11-19

EX-130

Boyle
Kabshko
W. J. [unclear]

11-B-52
11-C-52

4-20-52
91

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

40-3771-634

ENCLOSURE

CONTRIBUTION COUPON

b6

b7C

Earl Browder,
7 Highland Place, Apt. 3-
Yonkers 5, N.Y.

Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____ to the costs of conducting the defense of yourself and wife, against the indictment which charges that your statements that she was not a member of the Communist Party were false and unlawful.

This contribution is a free gift in the interests of justice and American Civil Liberties, and implies no other obligation or connection between the parties concerned.

Z

Name _____

Street & No. _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

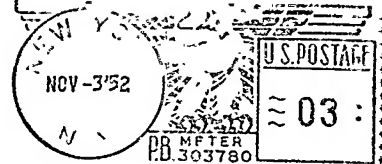
40-3798-633

APT. 3-F
7 HIGHLAND PLACE
YONKERS 5, N. Y.

40-8668-04

Dr. F. R. Mann
730 Kansas Ave.
Topeka, Kans.

74



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 11/20/52

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles (100-17698)

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - S

G.I.R.-8 7-3-1

By Bulet to Los Angeles dated January 18, 1952, captioned "CP, USA, DISTRICT 13, LOS ANGELES DIVISION; IS - C (LA 100-1763-4773)," this office was instructed upon receipt of transcripts of testimony taken before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a thorough review should be made, based upon which the Bureau should be advised of the identity of each individual mentioned as having been active in Communist Party affairs. The Los Angeles Office was also to advise the Bureau concerning each case in which an individual is identified as being the subject of an investigation by this office and the status of each investigation, as well as the status of the particular subject in the Security Index.

MELVIN LEVY testified before a public session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities at Washington, D.C., on January 28, 1952. His testimony revealed that he became a member of the Communist Party at the request of EARL BROWDER in New York City in 1933. He was recruited in New York City as a member-at-large.

As the Bureau is aware, EARL BROWDER was formerly General Secretary, CP, USA.

Since no pertinent activities or information concerning BROWDER was furnished in his testimony, no further action is being taken with respect thereto UACB.

RUC.

REGISTERED

SGM:JLD

cc: 2 - New York (REG.)

1 - LA 62-1664

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/24/99 BY [redacted]
RECORDED - 32

40-3778-1635

10 DEC 3 1952

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b7c

TO: Director, FBI (39-878 & 40-3798) DATE: December 12, 1952
FROM: SAC, Atlanta (100-5041) ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY
SUBJECT: IRENE BROWDER, was.
SM-C; PERJURY
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C; PERJURY

2-1

Re New York letter to Director dated December 5, 1952, carbon copies to Atlanta and Kansas City, requesting handwriting specimens of EARL BROWDER to be obtained from the United States Penitentiary files, Atlanta, Georgia. Attached are the following documents loaned to the Bureau from the Penitentiary file pertaining to EARL BROWDER, former convict No. 60140:

Inmate Request to Staff Member dated August 20, 1941.

Memo from BROWDER to Warden J.W. SANFORD dated July 7, 1941.

Letter from BROWDER to ROBERT MINOR dated May 21, 1941.

Letter from BROWDER to ROBERT MINOR dated August 15, 1941.

Letter from EARL BROWDER to ROBERT MINOR dated May 18, 1941, together with envelope addressed to ROBERT MINOR, [redacted] New York.

Carbon copy of a handwritten letter from BROWDER to MORRIS A GREENBAUM, New York City, dated December 17, 1941.

Photostatic copy of a letter from BROWDER to ROBERT MINOR dated January 17, 1941, consisting of two pages.

Photostatic copy of Application for Executive Clemency, presumably written by BROWDER and consisting of five pages, fifth page being typewritten and in unknown handwriting.

These documents were loaned upon condition that they will be returned when no longer needed.

GHT:eml
Enclosures (8)-REGISTERED MAIL
cc: New York (100-25693 & 100-14205)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/24/99 BY [redacted]

40-3798-
NOT RECORDED
55 DEC 22 1952
24

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b7c

Director, FBI (39-878 & 40-3798)

12/5/52

SAC, New York (100-25693 & 100-31205)

IRENE BROWDER, was
SM-C; PERJURY

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C; PERJURY

Rebulet 11/28/52, in which the Bureau requested that known specimens of the handwriting of EARL BROWDER be obtained from legally admissible sources and forwarded to the FBI Laboratory to be compared with photographic copies of the handwriting in the below described four letters allegedly written by EARL BROWDER; two letters headed "Moscow" dated 8/3/26 and 10/17/26, one letter headed "Hongkong" dated 10/8/28 and one letter headed "Somewhere in the Urals" dated 8/20/28.

AUSA ROBERT MARTIN, SDNY, advised that he is in the process of securing known specimens of BROWDER's handwriting from the INS which will be made available to the NYO for forwarding to the FBI Laboratory.

The Kansas City Office is requested to review BROWDER's file at the US Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, and secure specimens of BROWDER's handwriting to be forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for comparison with the above mentioned letters.

It is to be noted that BROWDER was incarcerated at Leavenworth on a conspiracy conviction, under #11314 from 7/14/19 until 11/15/20, and that two of these letters were written as early as 1926.

The Atlanta Office is requested to review BROWDER's file at the US Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga, and secure known specimens of BROWDER's handwriting to be forwarded to the FBI Laboratory, to be compared with the above described letters.

It is to be noted that BROWDER was incarcerated at Atlanta for unlawful use of passport under #60140 from 3/27/41 until 5/16/42.

The Kansas City and Atlanta Offices are further requested to expedite this investigation, inasmuch as MARTIN advised the BROWDERS will go on trial for perjury in January, 1953.

2 - Atlanta
2 - Kansas City

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/24/99 BY [redacted]

40-3798-2
DEC 8 1952

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

DHW:NG

67 DEC 11 1952

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b7C

SAC, New York (100-25693) & (100-14205)

November 28, 1952

Director, FBI (89-878) & (40-3798)

IRENE BROWDER, was.
SECURITY MATTER - ~~C~~ (U)
PERJURY

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
INTERNAL SECURITY - ~~C~~ (U)
PERJURY

Reurlet October 29, 1952, which requested that the originals of a letter headed "Somewhere-in-the-Urals" dated August 20, 1926, and a letter headed "Hongkong" dated October 8, 1926, be forwarded to New York.

The originals of these letters are forwarded herewith. For your information, the originals of two letters headed "Moscow" dated August 3, 1926, and October 17, 1926, are also transmitted herewith.

It is noted that information concerning Irene Browder is set out on pages 2 and 3 of the letter dated August 3, 1926, to the effect that Browder said she was a Bolshevik who went through all stages of the revolution, that she was one of the group which met Lenin at the station when he arrived from Switzerland in 1917 and that she worked in the Cheka during the period of the Civil War.

On page 2 of the letter dated October 17, 1926, the correct name of Browder's present wife is set forth with the information that she represented the Soviet Government on "Nansen's Committee" and the "Ara."

Photographs of the above letters are being retained in the FBI Laboratory. The New York Office should obtain known specimens of the handwriting of Earl Browder from public sources, if possible, and forward to the FBI Laboratory so that it can be determined whether these letters were written by Earl Browder in the event this issue is raised at the trial.

Enclosure

2 cc - Philadelphia (100-5102)

cc - FBI Laboratory
with attachment)

JJW:hlm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/24/99 BY [redacted]

ORIGINAL FILED IN 66

b6
b7C

DUPLICATE YELLOW

Best Copy Available

Director, FBI (39-878) (40-3798)

10/26/52

SAC, New York (100-25693) (100-14205)

IRENE BROWDER, was.
Security Matter-C, Perjury

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
Internal Security-C, Perjury

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/31/00 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Reference is made to Philadelphia letter to Director, dated 4/6/51 captioned "EARL BROWDER, was." and letter from Director to New York, dated 4/20/51 bearing dual caption "IRENE BROWDER, was." and "EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was."

A.U.S.A. ROBERT MARTIN, SDNY, advised that he desires to introduce into evidence at the forthcoming perjury trial of EARL RUSSELL BROWDER and IRENE BROWDER two letters written by EARL BROWDER to CATHERINE WICKLEY in which BROWDER comments regarding his son FELIX and FELIX'S mother. The first letter was written from "somewhere in the Urals" and dated August 20, 1920. The second letter was written from "Hong Kong" and dated October 8, 1928.

The Bureau is requested to furnish the New York Office with the originals of these letters in order that they be available at the time of the trial, which is expected to begin early in December of 1952.

The Philadelphia Office is requested to determine the availability of Miss MARY K. GIBSON, Penn Road, Wynnewood, Pennsylvania, to introduce these letters into evidence.

It is to be noted that Miss GIBSON when making these letters available to SA EDWARD A. SMITH on 3/29/51 indicated she would be willing to testify as to the authenticity of these letters even though she was extremely hesitant about doing so.

REGISTERED

2 - Philadelphia (100-5102) RM

DHW:AMM

NOT RECORDED

127 OCT 30 1952

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 39-878-66

Best Copy Available

RECORDED 13
INDEXED 13

~~40-3778-35~~

~~40-3778-635~~

December 1, 1952

Colonel C. B. Humphrey

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

11-30-01

[Redacted]

Dear Colonel:

I have received your letter dated November 20, 1952, together with the enclosures, and your courtesy in forwarding this material for my attention is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Bufiles reflect prior cordial correspondence from Colonel Humphrey. 100-53124

Similar material concerning Browder has previously been received by the Bureau and has been furnished to the Field. 40-3798

TOC: mmr

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Laughlin
Mohr
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Gandy

MAILED 7
DEC 2 1952
COMM-FBI

AHB
RW

DEC 18 1952

Earl Evans told me when I last saw him in Wichita that Earl Browder used to live on the west side down near the big Arkansas River about half a mile south of the Douglas Avenue bridge. He also said that Browder had been employed as a clerk in one of the large dry good stores on East Douglas Avenue. That was quite some time ago.

Very truly yrs

C.B.H.
C.B.H.
11-20-52

Copy of form letter just received from Kansas.

C.B.H.
11-20-52

*ack rec
11-1-52
TDC*

5-7-12

RECORDED-146

December 12, 1952

636

b6
b7c

Mr. Eus. Hanna
Eus-sell's
Fairmont, Minnesota

11/30/61

Dear Mr. Hanna:

I have received your letter dated December 4, 1952, together with the enclosures, and your courtesy in forwarding this information is appreciated.

In the event any information comes to your attention in the future which you believe may be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Minneapolis Office located at 419 North American Life and Casualty Building, Minneapolis 3, Minnesota.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ELR

2 - cc Minneapolis (with copies of inclosing)

Hanna enclosed material received by him from Earl Browder, who was recently arrested on a charge of having made false statements in connection with his wife's naturalization.

The enclosures consisted of a form letter from Browder dated October 18, 1952, referring to his arrest by the FBI. He refers to the arrest as "persecution" and makes appeal for funds for his defense. Also enclosed was a contribution coupon with spaces for the names and addresses of contributors; an envelope bearing the stamped address of Earl Browder, and a paper containing what purports to be copies of newspaper clippings regarding Browder's arrest. Similar material has been received from other sources by the Bureau in the past.

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____

TOC: jat

(40-3798)



RUS-SELL'S

"City of Lakes"

FAIRMONT, MINNESOTA

#46677-00
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-26-01 BY [redacted]

12/4/52

b6
b7C

8-1

F. W. I.
Gentlemen,

FRANK D. SPOONER

I received the enclosed letter
begging for money from none
other than Mr. Browder this week!!
How I got on his Communist "Lucker list"
I have no idea. I don't appreciate the "Honor"!!

I realize you probably have prior
knowledge of this literature, but just
in case you hadn't, I thought maybe
you should know in case he violates
any more of our laws in his efforts.

You won't need to take time to answer
this as I know you have more important
things to do with a limited staff.

Thanks. Sincerely,

ENCLO. ATTACHED

APPLIANCES • RADIOS • RECORDS • TV
PHOTO EQUIPMENT • BOATS

BAUM
DEC 9 1952
FARMERS

R U S - S E L L ' S
"City of Lakes"
Fairmont, Minnesota

12/4/52

F. B. I.

Gentlemen,

I received the enclosed letter begging for money from none other than Mr. Browder this week!! How I got on his Commie "Sucker list" I have no idea. I don't appreciate the "Honor"?!

I realize you probably have prior knowledge of this literature, but just in case you hadn't, I thought maybe you should know in case he violates any more of our laws in his efforts. You won't need to take time to answer this as I know you have more important things to do with a limited staff. Thanks.

Sincerely, /S/ Rus Hanna

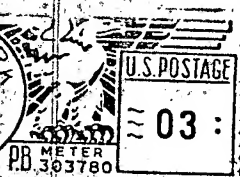
TRUE COPY

[redacted] b6
[redacted] b7C
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/01 BY [redacted]

APT. 3-F
HIGHLAND PLACE
ONKERS 5, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-30-9 BY [redacted]

Where did they
get this sucker list
→ [redacted]



b6
b7C

b6
b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : ✓ Director, FBI (39-878 & 40-3798)
 Attn: FBI Laboratory
 FROM : SAC, Kansas City (100-9841)

DATE: 12/15/52

SUBJECT: IRENE BROWDER, was.
 SM-C; PERJURY

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 IS-C; PERJURY

Relet New York to Director dated 12/5/52.

A review of the files of the U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, reveals that EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, USP No. 14314, was sentenced to a term of two years and a thousand dollar fine for violation of Section 37 of the Penal Code on 12/6/17 in the Western District of Missouri at Kansas City, Missouri. The file further reveals that the sentence began on 7/14/19 and BROWDER was paroled on 11/5/20. There was a communication contained in the files indicating that the file of EARL RUSSELL BROWDER had been transferred to the U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga., on 4/2/41.

The skeleton file as maintained by the U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, contained a fingerprint card of EARL BROWDER, a photostatic copy of which was obtained and is being transmitted herewith to the Bureau. The fingerprint card contains two signatures of EARL BROWDER as written at the time of his being printed on 7/15/19 at the USP. The FBI Laboratory is requested to compare the signature as contained on the enclosed fingerprint card with the copies of handwriting contained in the four letters allegedly written by EARL BROWDER; two letters headed "Moscow" dated 8/3/26 and 10/17/26, one letter headed "Hongkong" dated 10/8/28, and one letter headed "Somewhere in the Urals" dated 8/20/28, as requested in relet. RUC

CGC:mcm

Enclosure

1 cc: New York (100-25693 & 100-14205)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 6/24/99 BY [redacted]

40-3798-✓
 NOT RECORDED
 55 DEC 22 1952

b6
 b7c

68 DEC 31 1952

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL FILED IN 39-878-69

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was;
INT. SEC. - C
PERJURY

DATE: 1/8/53

Card U.T.D.

1-26-53 Byes

It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

X

The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (Specify change only)

NAME _____

ALIASES _____

NATIVE BORN _____ NATURALIZED _____ ALIEN _____

COMMUNIST _____ SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY _____ INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE _____

MISCELLANEOUS (Specify) _____

TAB FOR DETCOM _____ TAB FOR COMSAB _____ RACE _____ SEX _____

DATE OF BIRTH _____ PLACE OF BIRTH _____

BUSINESS ADDRESS (Show name of employing concern and address) _____

Meadows Service Inc. - 20 Cornelia Street, New York City

NATURE OF INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS (Specify from Vital Facility List)

None

RESIDENCE ADDRESS _____

DHW: LJR

RECORDED-20

EX-100

140-3798-637

JAN 9 1953

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/24/99 BY [redacted]

b6
b7c

REPORT
of the

7-1



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON D. C.

January 5, 1953

SAC, New York

There follows the report of the FBI Laboratory on the examination of evidence received from the Atlanta office on December 15, 1952; from the Kansas City office on December 17, 1952, and photographic copies of evidence described in Bureau letter to the New York office dated November 28, 1952.

IRENE BROWDER, was.
SECURITY MATTER - C, PERJURY
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C, PERJURY

John Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover, Director

YOUR FILE NO. 100-25693
FBI FILE NO. 100-114205
LAB. NO. 40-3798
D-158976 BE
D-159071 BE

Atlanta, Kansas City

Examination requested by:

Letters 12-12-52, 12-15-52

Reference:

Document

Examination requested:

mens:

The following evidence, contained in the Bureau files, is referred to in Bureau letter to the New York office dated November 28, 1952:

- Qc1 Photographs and negatives of a three-page letter beginning "Dearest Rickie:- Here I am...." and ending on page three "With love Earl."
- Qc2 Photographs and negatives of a five-page letter beginning "Dearest Rickie:- Have just left...." and ending on page five "As ever Earl."
- Qc3 Photographs and negatives of a ten-page letter beginning "Dearest Rickie:- After spending...." and ending on page ten "My love, dearest, Earl."
- Qc4 Photographs and negatives of a five-page letter beginning "Dearest Rickie:- Here I am again,...." and ending on page five "With love Always Earl."

D-158976 BE, submitted by Atlanta with letter dated 12-12-52:

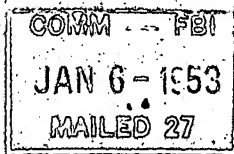
U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga., Inmate Request to Staff Member form, dated 8-20-41; memo from BROWDER to Warden J. W. Sanford dated July 7, 1941; letters from BROWDER to Robert Minor dated May 21, 1941 and August 15, 1941; letter and envelope dated May 18, 1941; carbon copy

- 2 - Atlanta (100-5041) Enclosure - REGISTERED MAIL
- 2 - Kansas City (100-9841)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-5102)

JAN 9 1953

Continued on next page

Page 1



HLD:ALC

58 JAN 13 1953

39-878
b6
b7C
UNRECORDED COPY FILED

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Laughlin
Mohr
Winterrowd
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/4/91 BY

of handwritten letter to Morris A. Greenbaum dated December 17, 1941; Photostat of two-page letter from BROWDER to Minor dated January 17, 1941 and a Photostat of Application for Executive Clemency consisting of five pages, dated August 25, 1941; all bearing the known handwriting of EARL BROWDER.

D-159071 BE, submitted by Kansas City with letter dated 12-15-52:

Kc2 Two Photostat pages of a United States Penitentiary fingerprint form bearing the known handwriting of EARL H. BROWDER.

RESULTS OF EXAMINATION:

It was not possible to reach a definite conclusion whether the handwriting on Qc1 through Qc4 was written by EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, KL and Kc2, because of variations which could not be accounted for on the basis of the available writing. It is possible that these variations are due to the difference in time of writing the questioned and known specimens. It is noted that Qc1 through Qc4 were written in 1926 and 1928, that specimen KL was prepared in 1941 and that specimen Kc2 was prepared in 1919.

If a further examination is desired, it is suggested that additional writing known to have been prepared by EARL RUSSELL BROWDER around the years 1926 or 1928 be obtained since a number of handwriting characteristics are noted in the questioned writing which also occur in the known writing on KL and Kc2.

Specimen KL is returned herewith to the Atlanta office. Photographs of this specimen are retained. Qc1 through Qc4 and Kc2 are retained.

January 7, 1953

RECORDED-140-3798-1638

INDEXED-1

John W. Crespy
[redacted]
[redacted] Pennsylvania

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C
b6
b7C

Dear Mr. Crespy:

Your letter dated December 30, 1952, with enclosures, has been received and I sincerely appreciate the interest which prompted you to make this material available to the FBI. Should you receive any further data which you believe relates to a matter within the jurisdiction of this Bureau, please feel free to communicate with the representatives of our office at 450 Union Trust Building, Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania.

Inasmuch as you indicate that you do not desire to receive the material which is being mailed to you, it is suggested that you so inform the person who is sending it to you.

I am enclosing some material which I thought you might like to read.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

COMM - FBI
JAN 8 - 1953
MAILED 27

Enclosures (3)

How To Fight Communism, Unmasking the Communist Masquerader, The Underground Tactics of the Communists.

CC - Pittsburgh, with copy of incoming.

CC - New York, with copy of incoming.

ATTENTION SACS: Enclosures consisted of material being

TEB:mbk
mhr

63 JAN 2

(See Next Page)

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Laughlin _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ATTENTION SACS:

distributed by Earl Browder, Apartment 3-F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers 5, New York, relating to the arrest of Browder and his wife by FBI Agents on September 30, 1952.

TRUE COPY

[REDACTED]
December 30 1952

b6
b7C

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed you will find Communistic literature. Frankly, I am very much worried. Why and how I am receiving this material, is more then I know.

There is a little history connected with this, and I believe it is necessary that you should know about it. About two years ago I received 8 or 10 copies of "In Fact" a Communistic paper. each issue ask for a donation for the payment of the issue or a subscription for six month. I answered none of these. About one year ago another paper came in the mail, the name I do not remember I recieved two or three copies. Then no more. About a week ago I recieved this letter you find enclosed. Why all this, is a mystrey to me. I am not a Commie, never was, and never will be. I am a Roman Catholic. A good Catholic certainly can not be a Communist.

What I am concerned mostly is how I can keep my self respect and above suspicion, get my name removed from their mailing list. I will do anything your department suggests.

One of your agents contacted me in 1949-50 he is located in Butler Pa, I believe his name was (McDermott) He came here to check on three Commies working at our plant. The secretary of the Cell in this area work for me, as I am in charge of a large department. I gave him all the information I had and was able to get a picture from one of her friends, he also received the picture.

Please advise me how I can have my name removed from their files and what I can do remain a good citizen. Your advice will appreciated. Please advise

Yours truly

/S/ John M. Crespy

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/3/01 BY [REDACTED]

RECEIVED
HERBERT H. HARRIS
DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

EARL O. HENDERSON

December 30 1952

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed you will find Communistic literature. Frankly, I am very much worried. Why and how I am receiving this material, is more than I know.

There is a little history connected with this, and I believe it is necessary that you should know about it. About two years ago I received 8 or 10 copies of "In Fact" a Communistic paper. Each issue asked for a donation for the payment of the issue or a subscription. For six months, I answered none of these. About one year ago another paper came in the mail, the name I do not remember. I received two or three copies. Then no more. About a week ago I received this letter you find enclosed. Why all this is a mystery to me. I am not a Commie, never was. I am a Roman Catholic, a good Catholic.

ENCLO. ATTACHED
ENCLOSURE
RECORDED
40-3798-638
JEB
NML - ad. 1-7-53
JAN 15 1953
JAN 15 1953

Certainly can not be a Communist.

What I am concerned mostly is how I can keep my self respect and above suspicion, Get my name removed from their mailing list. I will do anything your department suggests.

One of your agents contacted me in 1949-50 he is located in Butler pa. I believe his name was (Mc Dermott) He came here to check on three Commies working at our plant. The Secretary of the Cell in this area work for me, as I am in charge of a large department. I gave him all the information I had and was able to get a picture from one of her friends, he also received the picture.

Please advise me how I can have my name removed from their files and what I can do remain a good citizen. Your advice will be appreciated. Please advise

Yours Truly
John M. Crispy

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)
FROM : SAC, New York (100-25693)
SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS-C; PERJURY

DATE: JAN 22 1953

b6
b7c

IRENE BROWDER, was
SM-C; PERJURY

G.I.R.-6

Reurlets 11/28/52 and 1/5/53 in which the Bureau requested that known specimens of the handwriting of EARL BROWDER be obtained from legally admissible sources and forwarded to the FBI Laboratory to be compared with the photographic copies of the handwriting in the below described four letters allegedly written by EARL BROWDER; two letters headed "Moscow" dated 8/3/26 and 10/17/26, one letter headed "Hongkong" dated 10/8/28 and one headed "Somewhere in the Urals" dated 8/20/28.

AUSA, ROBERT MARTIN, SDNY, advised that he is still in the process of obtaining known specimens of BROWDER's handwriting from Immigration and Naturalization Service and that these specimens will be made available to the New York Office for forwarding to the FBI Laboratory.

The Washington Field Office is requested to review BROWDER's file at the Passport Division, United States State Department and secure specimens of BROWDER's handwriting to be forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for comparison with the above mentioned letters.

For the information of the Washington Field Office a number of specimens have already been forwarded to the FBI Laboratory and no conclusion could be reached. In referenced letter of 1/5/53, the Laboratory pointed out that it was possible a definite conclusion could be reached if additional specimens of BROWDER's handwriting, which were prepared around the years 1926 or 1928 could be obtained.

The Washington Field Office is requested to expedite this investigation, inasmuch as AUSA, MARTIN has advised the BROWDER's perjury trial will begin in the SDNY in the near future.

- 1 - Bufile 39-878
- 2 - Washington Field
- 1 - NY 100-14205

RECORDED - 70

-123

40-3798-639
JAN 23 1953

DW:MPF

FEB 11 1953

~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

1/27/53

SAC, New York [REDACTED]

JOSEPH KATZ, was
ESP - R
(Bufile [REDACTED])

HELEN HARREFT TENNEY, was
ESP - R
(Bufile [REDACTED])

DUNCAN C. LEE
ESP - R
(BUFILE [REDACTED])

EARL CROWDER, was
ESP - R
✓ (Bufile 40-3798)

VICTOR PERLO, was
ESP - R
(Bufile [REDACTED])

GEORGE PERAZICH, wa
ESP - R
(Bufile [REDACTED])

Re New York letter to Director 10/21/52 same caption as above.

On page 3, paragraph 3, line 7, of reference letter, the name JOHN FOSTER DULLES should be corrected to read ALLEN DULLES. New York copies have been corrected.

- 2 - Washington Field
- 1 - NY 100-95875
- 1 - NY 100-96630
- 1 - NY 100-94653
- 1 - NY 100-25693
- 1 - NY [REDACTED]

FMZ:MDM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/24/99 BY [REDACTED]

NOT RECORDED
JAN 28 1953

53 FEB 12 1953

b3

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b3

b6
b7C

A. H. Belmont

January 22, 1953

W. A. Branigan

[REDACTED] INFORMANT
INTERNAL SECURITY - R
SECURITY MATTER - C

b7D

By memorandum to the Director dated December 9, 1952, captioned "World Tourist," Raymond F. Farrell, Assistant Commissioner, Investigations Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service, furnished information to the effect that [REDACTED] a consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Washington, D. C., had submitted a memorandum dated October 8, 1952, to Robert L. Woytych, Officer in Charge, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., advising that from an examination of passport photographs at the Central Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, [REDACTED] had been able to identify 105 Communist Party members or former Communist Party members known to him personally. [REDACTED] specified that some were out of the Communist Party or that the present attitude of others was in doubt and they may be working with agencies of the Soviet government.

b7D

Blank memoranda have been prepared concerning each person identified, and two copies of each of these memoranda are attached.

b6
b7C

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended that the copies of the memoranda be routed to the Supervisor handling the respective case files for necessary action. It is suggested that one copy of each memorandum be furnished the office of origin in each case. In some cases, it may be desirable to interview [REDACTED] for additional information concerning the extent of his association with the individual mentioned.

b7D

Attachment

DET:rmc

cc: Bufile re Earl Browder (Attachment).

145-377-1
NOT RECORDED
147 JAN 25 1953

78 FEB 12 1953

Best Copy Available

January 12, 1953

RECORDED - 90
INDEXED - 90

640

Miss Barbara Elaine Wolf
Western College
Oxford, Ohio

11/30/01

b6 b7C

Dear Miss Wolf:

Your communication postmarked January 12, 1953, has been received, and the interest prompting you to bring the enclosed material to the attention of this Bureau is indeed appreciated.

If in the future you have further information which you believe to be within the jurisdiction of the FBI, please feel free to contact the representatives of our office at 637 United States Post Office and Court House Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

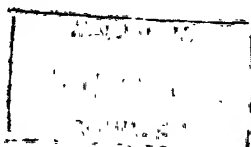
cc - Cincinnati

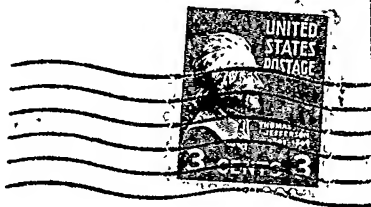
cc - New York

ATTENTION SACs: Correspondent enclosed literature distributed by Earl Browder, 7 Highland Place, Apartment 3 F, Yonkers 5, New York, protesting the allegation that his wife is a Communist and asking for contributions "in the interests of justice and American Civil Liberties."

DIC:ral

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Laughlin _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



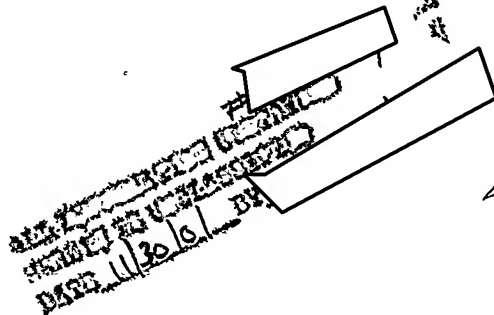


Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

James
1-14
30

Barbara Elaine Wolf
Western College
Oxford, Ohio

m m l 22
ack 1-27-53
D/C



b6
b7C

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sed

(g |
CARL O BROWDER

Encl
4

A
2 ENCL
20

RECORDED - 90
INDEXED - 90

EX-130
13

JAN 23 1959

40-3798-640

A



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO. _____

January 14, 1953

RE: [REDACTED] INFORMANT
INTERNAL SECURITY - R
SECURITY MATTER- C

b7D

[REDACTED] employed as a consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Washington, D. C., and a former Communist Party member, advised the Immigration and Naturalization Service by memorandum dated October 8, 1952, that from an examination of passport photographs at the Immigration and Naturalization Service Central Office, he was able to identify the following person as a Communist Party member or former member known to him personally:

b7D

Earl Browder, photograph #1033.

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
12/3/01
3-2-88
SP/AG/6mm
271040

COPIES DESTROYED

842 OCT 5 1970

ENCLOSURE

Best Copy Available

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III
Criminal Division

February 12, 1953

Director, FBI

12-30

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

TELETYPE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
FBI File 40-3795 641

RECORDED - 44

As you will recall, the above individual, former head of the Communist Party in the United States for many years, is presently awaiting trial along with his wife on perjury charges arising from statements made by them in connection with naturalization hearings relating to his wife.

Advice has been received that two articles have recently appeared in the "New York Post" quoting highly critical statements by Browder concerning the Government of the Soviet Union based on recent purges and alleged anti-Semitic developments there.

On February 11, 1953, it was learned that Browder's attorney, O. John Rogge, had advised the United States Attorney's office in New York City that Browder wanted to come in and talk. Rogge was told by Assistant United States Attorney Martin that Browder should not come in unless he were prepared to make a full disclosure. Rogge indicated he would confer further with Browder. Assistant Special Agent in Charge Whelan of the New York Office of this Bureau then conferred with United States Attorney Lane and it was agreed that if Browder indicated a desire to make a disclosure he would be immediately turned over to Bureau Agents for questioning with no one else present.

Mr. Lane advised later on February 11, 1953, that Rogge had told Assistant United States Attorney Martin that Browder was willing to make a speech over the Voice of America Program on Russian nationalism and that Mr. Lane assumed this was an opening maneuver on the part of Browder before he decided to furnish the information in his possession.

Instructions have been issued to our New York Office that Browder will be interviewed by Bureau Agents, at such time as he has decided to make a complete disclosure but that he will not be interviewed prior to this decision on his part nor will Bureau agents participate in any interview with him prior to the time that he reaches this decision.

The above is submitted for your information.

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Laughlin _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

JW:jdt

RECEIVED DIRECTOR
FEB 12 1953

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. LADD

DATE: February 11, 1953

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER, et al
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURYALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/30/01 BY [redacted]

Tolson	
Ladd	b6
Clegg	b7c
Glavin	
Nichols	
Tracy	
Harbo	
Belmont	
Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Nease	
Gandy	

About noon on February 11, 1953, ASAC Whelan of New York called relative to Earl Browder. He said that one of the main purposes of Roy Cohn in indicting Earl Browder and his wife on a perjury charge, based on Mrs. Browder's immigration status, was to try to force Earl Browder to become cooperative with the government. During the last week, two articles have appeared in the New York Post under the by-line of Lash quoting Earl Browder as being critical of Russia because Russia has now grown to be authoritarian, rather than democratic, as reflected by the recent purges and anti-Semitic action in Russia.

AUSA Martin, SDNY, has advised Mr. Whelan that Browder's attorney, John Rogge, has advised the United States Attorney that Browder wants to come in and talk. Martin said that Rogge was told that Browder should not come in unless he was prepared to name names. Rogge said he would talk to Browder.

Mr. Whelan raised the question as to whether Agents should talk to Browder if he comes in.

ACTION:

I told Mr. Whelan to contact USA Lane and advise him that if Browder is prepared to furnish information of a security nature, the FBI is the proper authority to whom Browder should talk and therefore if Browder does come in, we will expect to have him referred to the New York Office for interview. I told Whelan that if he has any trouble with Lane over this, to let us know and we will take it up with the Department.

Browder, of course, could furnish a great deal of information on both Communist and espionage activities and possibly could be a witness in the Lattimore case.

RECORDED - 44

40-3778-641
FEB 17 1953

AHB:tlc

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. LADD

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

DATE: February 11, 1953

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Laughlin _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Remymemo February 11, 1953, reflecting that the U. S. Attorney's Office in New York had advised that Browder through his attorney had indicated a desire to talk.

ASAC Whelan called me at 3:40 P.M. on February 11, 1953, to advise that he had talked to U. S. Attorney Lane in accordance with instructions and had told him that the FBI is the proper authority to receive information from Browder if he desires to furnish information. Mr. Whelan advised that Lane was very agreeable and told him that if Browder indicates he is ready to talk, he will be turned over to the Bureau for questioning and for interview by Bureau agents with no one else present.

Mr. Whelan called me back at 6:00 P.M. to advise that USA Lane had called him later to state that Attorney John Rogge had called AUSA Martin to advise that Browder is willing to make a speech over the Voice of America on Russian nationalism. Lane told Whelan that this is the opening play on the part of Browder and will probably be a sparring match before Browder makes up his mind to furnish information in his possession. Lane advised that Rogge and Browder will probably come in to discuss this and Lane would be glad to have an agent present. Whelan told Lane that he assumed that Lane was not going to accept such a proposal from Browder as it would, in effect, be sponsoring Browder, who is under indictment. Lane repeated that this was merely the opening play on the part of Browder.

I told Mr. Whelan that it seems clear that Browder is feeling the pinch and will only make such concession as he has to. I told him that to me the issue is clear, either Browder ends up talking to FBI agents to furnish information in his possession or he does not; there is no middle ground. On this basis I told him that an agent should not be present if Browder

AHB:je

RECORDED-60

42-3795-642
FEB 18 1953

62 MAR 2 1953

comes in to jockey with Lane, and that at such time as Browder decides to furnish information he should be turned over to the New York Office for interview, but we should not be ourselves in a position that he can claim he has talked to the FBI before he arrives at that decision.

Mr. Whelan will keep us advised. We are sending a letter to the Department on February 12, 1953, advising of this development and our position relative thereto.

memo to
Comm
2/12/53
JW

Right. We should
talk & type in
our own offices
& not in presence
of anyone else.

H. 2/6/53
Make Whelan advised
directors comments. J

SAC, New York (100-25693;
100-14205)

February 20, 1953

Director, FBI (40-3793;
39-878)

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PERJURY

IRENE BROWDER, was.
SECURITY MATTER - C
PERJURY

Reurlet January 22, 1953, which sets out a lead for the Washington Field Office to review the passport files of the Department of State to obtain specimens of Earl Browder's handwriting.

It has been ascertained that specimens of Browder's handwriting were made available to the Bureau by the Department of State in connection with the investigation entitled "Donald L. Robinson, was., et al, Passports and Visas, Internal Security - R," Bufile 40-3923, New York file 40-241. Testimony by a Bureau document examiner was used in the proceedings against Browder in 1939 and 1940 which resulted in his conviction on charges of having violated the passport laws of the United States.

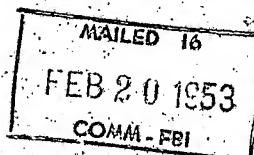
In view of the above it will not be necessary for the Washington Field Office to cover the lead to obtain handwriting specimens from the files of the Passport Division, Department of State, at this time. Should additional specimens be desired the Washington Field Office will be advised by the Bureau.

2cc - SAC, Washington Field Office

NOTE ON YELLOW: Mr. H. L. Dahlgren of the technical laboratory advised that the results of a previous handwriting examination concerning Browder had been located in the Bufile 40-3923 which is known as the Reubens-Robinson case. The lab file discloses that material from the passport files was made available for this examination. If additional specimens from the passport records are desired Washington Field Office will be advised.

JJW:amc *amc*

RECORDED-60



140-3793-643
FEB 24 1953

137

58 MAR 5 1953

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DATE 6/24/99 BY

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b6
b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: February 20, 1953

FROM : MR. D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 VERSUS EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 AND BROWDERISM
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C
 Bufile 40-3798

[REDACTED]
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 12-3-01 BY [REDACTED]

Tolson ☒
 Ladd ☒ b6
 Clegg ☒ b7C
 Glavin ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tracy ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Nease ☒
 Gandy ☒

PURPOSE:

To answer the Director's inquiry as to why it took from January 26, until February 19, 1953, to take the action recommended in the attached memorandum.

DETAILS:

This memorandum was received in Mr. Belmont's Office on the afternoon of January 26, 1953. It was reviewed and initialed for Mr. Belmont by Laughlin. It was then sent to Mr. Ladd's Office and was received there in the early evening of January 27. Saturday afternoon, January 31, Mr. Scatterday in Mr. Ladd's Office hand-delivered the memorandum to Mr. Laughlin, pointing out that even though it had been initialed by the Section Chief of the Internal Security Section, the particular Supervisor, Mr. Walsh, handling the Browder case, should review this work.

The memorandum was sent to Mr. Walsh in the Internal Security Section where it was stamped in at 8:56 A.M., Monday morning, February 2. Mr. Walsh does not recall exactly how long he had this memorandum but estimates he had it in his possession about two days. He suggested that certain material from Elizabeth Bentley's book "Out of Bondage" relating to Browder be added. In the absence of Mr. W. C. Sullivan, Mr. Walsh discussed this matter with Mrs. Whalen of the Research Unit, who arranged to have the material added. Mrs. Whalen recalls that she had the memorandum "a day or two" to add the material. Mrs. Whalen hand-carried the material to Laughlin who, in turn, hand-carried it to Mr. Scatterday. Laughlin does not remember exactly what day it was given to Mr. Scatterday.

Attachment

LLL:mer

RECORDED - 113

FEB 20 1953

See addendum next page

Mr. Scatterday does not recall the exact date the memorandum was returned to him by Mr. Laughlin, but believes it was on Friday, February 6, 1953, as he recalls reviewing the new material on Saturday, February 7, and discussing the document with Mr. Ladd on that date. On February 9, Mr. Scatterday sent the document to Mr. Tolson's Office.

ADDENDUM: (G. C. Gearty) 2/20/53

The above-mentioned memorandum was received in my office 4:29 pm on February 9, 1953. It is to be noted the monograph with cover memorandum and SAC Letter was approximately 190 pages in length. I read portions of it each evening after handling more urgent type mail, and completed it Saturday afternoon, 2/14/53. I noted certain items needing correction, and on Monday, 2/16/53 I endeavored to contact Supervisor Sullivan who prepared the monograph but was informed he was on sick leave. I was also unable to reach him on 2/17/53, and on 2/18 I returned it to the Central Research Desk and was informed Mr. Sullivan would be contacted at his home for the purpose of clarifying the monograph. This was done and the monograph was corrected and returned to me 10:12 am 2/19/53. I checked the corrections and then sent the monograph through for approval.


GCG:pc



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*
 FROM : V. P. Keay *PKA*
 SUBJECT: THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
 VERSUS EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 AND BROWDERISM
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C
 Bufile 40-3798

DATE: January 23, 1953

Tolson ☒
 Ladd ☒
 Clegg ☒
 Glavin ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tracy ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Nease ☒
 Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 11/13/01 BY [redacted]

Synopsis:

Approval requested of the attached monograph entitled "The Communist Party, USA, versus Earl Russell Browder and Browderism," copies of which will be furnished to all Field Offices and Legal Attaches as well as selected governmental agencies.

Purpose:

This is to submit for your approval the captioned monograph prepared by the Central Research Unit with a view toward dissemination to all Bureau Field Offices and Legal Attaches as well as to selected outside governmental agencies.

Details:

This monograph was written as the result of requests made for such a study by Field Office agents. In accordance with suggestions made by them, this monograph seeks to accomplish the following: (1) the presentation of essential biographical data on Earl Browder; (2) a summation of the rise and fall of Earl Browder as an official of the Communist Party, USA; (3) a discussion of the dissolution of the Communist Party, USA, and the formation of the Communist Political Association; (4) the reconstitution of the Communist Party, USA; (5) an analysis of Browderism; (6) the activities of Earl Browder since he was expelled from the Communist Party, USA, and related information; (7) Browder as an author; and (8) present status of Earl Browder.

This monograph, as indicated, has been written with the above points in mind plus an effort to so organize the monograph and to include material which may be especially useful in the coming court trial of Earl Browder.

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 Attachment

842 OCT 5 1970

WCS:LLW:lih

RECORDED - 113

FEB 26 1953

40-3798-114
WCS/lew
WCS
2/26/53

This monograph has been proofread and approved by the Reading Room and the Liaison Section relative to (1) organization; (2) style; (3) choice of words and terminology.

It is to be noted that Supervisor J. J. Walsh of Internal Security Section, who is handling the Browder Case, has been very helpful in the preparation of this monograph. It is believed most desirable that Supervisor Walsh read this monograph in order (a) to detect any possible errors of fact and (b) to ascertain if there are policy considerations which may be contrary to trial procedures.

Upon approval, it is recommended that copies of this monograph be forwarded to all Field Offices and Legal Attaches by SAC letter, a copy of which is also attached. It is also recommended that the following outside governmental agencies be furnished copies of this document.

The Attorney General

Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

Deputy Attorney General

Honorable James S. Lay, Jr.
National Security Council

Mr. J. Patrick Coyne
National Security Council

Mr. John W. Ford
Chief, Division of Security
Department of State

b3

Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

Director of Naval Intelligence

Director of Special Investigations
Department of the Air Force

Deputy Director, Plans

cc. monograph
attached
3/13/53
JFC:dlg

Director, [redacted]

b3
b7D

Director, [redacted]
Department of Defense

Action:

It is recommended that this monograph be approved for dissemination as set forth above.

It is also recommended that the attached SAC letter be approved for transmitting this project to Bureau Field Offices and Legal Attaches.

On completion of the above, it is requested that the attached yellow copy of this document be returned to the Central Research Unit, Room 7630A, where provisions will be made for its printing and distribution.

Addendum: 1/27/53, JFC:dlg - It is also recommended that a copy of captioned study be furnished to the Honorable Robert Cutler, Administrative Assistant to the President, successor to Admiral Souers.

OK.
H.



**REPORT
of the**



7-1

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON D. C.**

To:

Best Copy Available February 25, 1953

SAC, New York

There follows the report of the FBI Laboratory on an examination requested by the Domestic Intelligence Division of the Bureau on February 11, 1953.

Re:

IRENE BROWDER, was.
SS-C, PERJURY

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.
IS-C, PERJURY

Examination requested by:

Bureau

Reference:

2/11/53

Examination requested:

Document

Specimens:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/24/99 BY [redacted]

YOUR FILE NO.

FBI FILE NO.

LAB. NO.

100-25693
100-14205
40-3923
D-162260 BE

40-3923 ✓
39-878- ✓
UNRECORDED 100-33
b6
b7C

Request comparison of the handwriting on Qc1 through Qc4 in this case with additional known writing of EARL RUSSELL BROWDER submitted in connection with Bureau file 40-3923.

Results of examination:

This supplements Laboratory report D-158976, D-159071 BE, directed to the New York office under date of January 5, 1953.

Additional known writing of EARL RUSSELL BROWDER was located in the case entitled "HUBBINS - ROBINSON Passport Case; Passports and Visas," Bureau file 40-3923. This writing was previously submitted to the Bureau by the Department of State, Passport Division.

The additional known writing of BROWDER described above was compared with handwriting on specimens Qc1 through Qc4 in this case, but no conclusion could be reached whether BROWDER prepared this questioned writing, because of variations which cannot be explained on the basis of the available known writing of this individual.

Specimens Qc1 through Qc4 referred to above are described in referenced Laboratory report dated January 5, 1953.

- Tolson _____
- Ladd _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Clegg _____
- Glavin _____
- Harbo _____
- Rosen _____
- Tracy _____
- Laughlin _____
- Mohr _____
- Tele. Rm. _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

I - Washington Field Office

53 MAR 11 1953

COMM - FBI
FEB 26 1953
MAIL 7-27

40-3923-645
RECORDED 113
MAR 5 1953
110
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798; 39-878)

DATE: March 4, 1953

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-6003)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS - C; PERJURYIRENE BROWDER, was
SM - C; PERJURY

Reference is made to New York letter to the Bureau, dated January 22, 1953, wherein WFO was requested to obtain copies of certain documents concerning BROWDER from the Passport Office, Department of State.

Bulet to New York dated February 20, 1953, advised it would not be necessary for WFO to handle this request. Therefore, since this office has no additional investigative leads in instant matter, the case is considered RUC.

JDH:mak

2 - New York (100-25693; 100-14205) (RM)

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40-3798-646

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DATE 6/24/99 BY

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 27 1953

FBI NYC

2-27-53

12-52 AM

TM

DIRECTOR

URGENT

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS- IS-C PERJURY. IRENE BROWDER, WAS-
PERJURY. AUSA ROBERT MARTIN, SDNY, HAS ADVISED THAT O. JOHN ROGEE,
ATTORNEY FOR BROWDER HAS INFORMED HIM THAT HE HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH

LEO ROVER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN CHARGE OF THE OWEN LATTI-
MORE CASE AND THAT THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY, THAT BROWDER WOULD TESTIFY
FOR THE GOVT. AGAINST LATTIMORE IF BROWDER, COULD BE PERMITTED TO
HAVE A CONFERENCE WITH LATTIMORE-S ATTORNEYS, PRIOR TO GIVING SUCH
TESTIMONY. MARTIN STATES ROGEE IS ATTEMPTING TO ARRANGE A CONFERENCE
TO BE HELD IN US ATTORNEY-S OFFICE ABOUT MARCH SIX NEXT, IN WHICH BROWDER
COOPERATION WITH THE GOVT. WILL BE DISCUSSED. ROGEE HAS REQUESTED THAT

HE, TOGETHER WITH BROWDER, MARTIN, PHILIP JAFFE AND ROBERT MORRIS OF
THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE BE PRESENT. MARTIN ADVISED THAT
ROGEE REQUESTED THAT NO ONE FROM THE FBI BE PRESENT AT THIS CONFERENCE.

USA MYLES J. LANE, SDNY HAS REQUESTED OUR ADVICE AS TO WHETHER WE
DESIRE TO BE PRESENT AT THIS MEETING. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT LATTIMORE
BE ADVISED THAT IF BROWDER IS WILLING TO TALK, THAT HE BE IMMEDIATELY
REFERRED TO THE FBI, FURTHERMORE THAT WE DO NOT DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE

END OF PAGE ONE

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/24/99 BY [redacted]

89 MAR 11 1953

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PAGE TWO

IN THE CONFERENCE. THIS RECOMMENDATION IS BASED UPON THE POSSIBILITY
THAT THE PROSPECTIVE CONFERENCE IS FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING SOME
KIND OF DEAL ON THE PART OF ROGGE AND THUS WE SHOULD NOT BECOME
INVOLVED IN SUCH A CONFERENCE. ~~LATTIMORE~~ ^{LANE} DOES NOT KNOW THE REASON
ROGGE DESIRES TO HAVE JAFFE AND MORRIS ATTEND THIS CONFERENCE BUT
~~LATTIMORE~~ ^{LANE} ADVISED THAT HE IS CONSIDERING CONTACTING ROGGE ON FEB. TWO
SEVEN NEXT TO INQUIRE OF HIM AS TO WHY ROBERT AMORRIS IS BEING
BROUGHT INTO THIS CONFERENCE. ~~LATTIMORE~~ ^{LANE} HAS INDICATED THAT HE WOULD
GET IN TOUCH WITH THE DEPARTMENT CONCERNING THIS MATTER.

BOARDMAN

HLD

Best Copy Available

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III
Criminal Division

February 27, 1953

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
FBI File 40-3798

12-3-0

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b7C

Reference is made to my memorandum dated February 12, 1953, which dealt with the situation arising out of a number of contacts by Browder's attorney, O. John Rogge, with the United States Attorney's office in New York City concerning the possibility that Browder might furnish information to the Government.

You will recall that our New York Office was instructed at that time not to participate in any interview with Browder prior to a decision on his part to make a full disclosure and that an agreement was reached by the United States Attorney and our New York Office that Browder would be immediately turned over to the FBI for questioning with no one else present if he indicated a desire to make a disclosure.

Information has now been received from Assistant United States Attorney Martin of New York City that Rogge indicated to Leo Rover, Departmental Attorney in charge of the Owen Lattimore case, a possibility that Browder might testify for the Government if Browder could confer with Lattimore's attorneys prior to giving such testimony. Rogge is attempting to arrange a conference in the United States Attorney's office on or about March 6, 1953, at which time Browder's cooperation with the Government will be discussed. Rogge requested that Assistant United States Attorney Martin, Philip Jaffe, and Robert Morris of the Senate Judiciary Committee be present at this conference along with Browder and Rogge. Rogge requested that no one from the FBI be present. The United States Attorney's office has advised that it is not aware of the reasons why Rogge desires to have Jaffe and Morris attend this conference.

See Note on Yellow on Page 2.

JJW:rmw

RECORDED

140-3798-648

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

MAILED 2

MAR 3 1953

COMM - FBI

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Laughlin
Mohr
Winterrowd
Tele. Rm.
Holloman
Gandy

MAR 3 11 53 AM '53
RECEIVED REL. ROOM
FBI

MAR 3 9 52 AM '53

ENC

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ALB

W

W

JW

At this time it is desired to reiterate our position that the FBI should not participate in any such conference with Browder and his attorney prior to a decision on Browder's part to cooperate fully with the Government. At the same time, it is pointed out that if Browder does decide to make a disclosure this disclosure should properly be made to the FBI and he should be immediately turned over to the FBI for questioning. We do not desire to participate in any joint interview or interrogation of Browder with representatives of other agencies or investigative bodies or in the presence of outside individuals.

Advice is requested as to the outcome of the proposed conference with Browder and any other pertinent developments in this matter. As I have indicated above, I feel very strongly that any disclosures made by Browder should be made directly to the FBI.

NOTE ON YELLOW

Browder was former head of the Communist Party, USA for many years; expelled in 1946. He and his wife are now under indictment awaiting trial on perjury charges arising out of testimony in naturalization hearing regarding wife. Browder's attorney, O. John Rogge, has, within the last month, made a number of contacts with the United States Attorney's office, New York City, relative to possible cooperation by Browder with the Government.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

DATE: March 4, 1953

Tolson ☒

Ladd ☒

Clegg ☒

Glavin ☒

Nichols ☒

Rosen ☒

Tracy ☒

Harbo ☒

Belmont ☒

Mohr ☒

Tele. Room ☒

Nease ☒

Gandy ☒

At 4:45 p.m. on 3/3/53 Assistant Attorney General Olney and Mr. William Foley, of the Criminal Division of the Department, came to see the Director concerning a letter received by the Department from the office of U. S. Attorney Lane in New York, advising of a conference set up for 3/6 by Attorney Rogge, to be attended by Rogge, Assistant U. S. Attorney Martin, Philip Jaffe, Robert Morris of the Jenner Committee, and Earl Browder. The conference was to be for the purpose of discussion of the terms under which Browder and Jaffe would cooperate with the government. The letter stated that Rogge did not want FBI agents present.

During the discussion of this matter with Messrs. Olney and Foley (Mr. Belmont was also present), the Director made it very clear that it appeared that Rogge and Browder were attempting to whitewash Browder with the least possible sacrifice on Browder's part, and that Rogge was doing some fast footwork in attempting to set up this conference as indicated.

The Director pointed out that Browder is apparently feeling the pressure of government action directed against his wife and himself in the matter of false statements made in connection with her citizenship application; that apparently Browder's wife is his weakest point and he is trying to settle with the government for the cheapest possible price.

The Director advised that there is really only one way to go about this matter, and that is to make it crystal clear to Rogge that no half measures will be accepted; that if Browder wants to cooperate and furnish information, he must do so wholeheartedly and the information must be given to FBI agents, without anyone else being present. Messrs. Olney and Foley were advised that any half measures, or partial furnishing of information by Browder, would inevitably kick back on the government, as Browder would claim he had cooperated with the government; that for this reason the FBI did not want to sit in on any conference until Browder is ready to cooperate completely, and then FBI agents are the proper authorities to talk with him.

AHB:CSH

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100-3798-649

MAR 12 1953

F. L. JONES

AWA

F- (Ch)

60 MAR 24 1953

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DATE 12/3/01 BY

For the same reason, the Director pointed out that there is no sound basis for the conference's encompassing Robert Morris of the Congressional committee and Philip Jaffe, who is Rogge's other client. This concerns a pending criminal case in the Department and should be handled in an orthodox official manner, without having extraneous issues involved. The Director pointed out that the way this is being set up by Rogge, he is trying to cloud the issues. The Director advised that Robert Morris has a good reputation and appears to be a high-type individual, but this is not the time for a Congressional committee to enter this picture, as it is a pending case in the Department; that if Browder does cooperate, and after he furnishes all information in his possession, there would, of course, be no objection to Mr. Morris' interviewing him for the purposes of the committee.

The Director pointed out that in some respects this was like the Rosenberg matter, where pro-Communist forces and even some well-intentioned individuals were seeking to cloud the issue; that the issue was perfectly clear, since Judge Kaufman had told the Rosenbergs that if they desired to cooperate with the government they could do so by furnishing information to the government, that is the FBI, and that the Rosenbergs know this.

The Director pointed out, both as to the Rosenbergs and Earl Browder, that the FBI is not in a position to make any sort of a deal with them; that if they do cooperate and furnish complete information to agents of this Bureau, we will be the first ones to let the Department know of that cooperation, so that appropriate consideration can be given to their cases.

Messrs. Olney and Foley were in full agreement with the Bureau's thinking in this matter, and it was agreed that, in order that the Department's position would be crystal clear to Rogge, Mr. Olney would call Rogge and advise him. It was further agreed that Mr. Olney would call Robert Morris and explain the situation to him so that he might understand the Department's position.

Subsequent to this conference, Mr. Foley called Mr. Belmont to advise that he and Mr. Olney had forgotten to bring up Jaffe's name, but that he assumed the FBI's position was exactly the same as to Jaffe, that is that the only acceptable way to handle Jaffe was to have him talk with FBI agents and furnish all information in his possession. Mr. Belmont told him this was correct; that we stood ready to talk with Jaffe at any time, the same as with Browder, but we do not want any part of so-called conferences with him. Mr. Foley said this was Mr. Olney's understanding. Mr. Foley also advised that Jaffe had requested to see attorney Leo Rover in the Department, and that Rover would see Jaffe, if Jaffe desired, but would clearly advise Jaffe that if he desires to furnish information or cooperate with the government, he must furnish the information to FBI agents.

Mr. Foley advised Mr. Belmont also that, following the conference with the Director, Mr. Olney called U. S. Attorney Lane at once and told him of the Department's views, and he believed that Olney had also placed a call for Rogge.

ACTION:

We will follow with the Department as to the developments in this matter.

We must hold to
this line. It is passed.
If these cells find out
they can circumvent the
FBI the whole program
against subversives is
undermined.

H.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: March 4, 1953

FROM : Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

WO:mms

SUBJECT: Earl Russell Browder
Internal Security - C

146-11-350

Reference is made to your memorandum of February 27, 1953 concerning certain contacts made by Browder's attorney, O. John Rogge, with the United States Attorney's office in New York City concerning the possibility that Browder might furnish information to the Government.

Following my conference with you at which Mr. Belmont of the FBI and Mr. Foley of the Criminal Division were also present, I telephoned Mr. O. John Rogge in New York City and told him, as we had agreed, that while the Department of Justice did not wish to be understood as repulsing all offers of cooperation by Browder but on the contrary would be quite willing to receive information and assistance from him, if he desired giving the same; that under no circumstances would anyone connected with the Department of Justice agree to any conditions concerning Browder's treatment except the usual ones. Specifically, we could not consent to arranging a talk with Browder on the condition that the FBI be excluded, but on the contrary if Browder desired to cooperate with the Government it could only be through the FBI. I told Mr. Rogge in view of this there was no purpose to be served by the suggested conference on March 6 in the U. S. Attorney's office to discuss the limited cooperation of Browder with the Government, with conditions attached. I endeavored to explain as clearly as possible that if Browder desired to cooperate, the only course to which we would consent was for him to work directly with the FBI.

In this conversation with Mr. Rogge he made only two comments. When I told him the reasons why there was no point in this conference of March 6, he stated, "Sometimes I try to get parties together and it does not work".

Mr. Rogge's second comment was at the conclusion of our conversation when I had made it clear that if Browder desired to cooperate with the Government, his only course was to go directly to the FBI, Mr. Rogge said, "I will see what I can do".

Before telephoning Mr. Rogge, I discussed the matter

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53 MAR 27 1953

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MAR 15 1953

40-3798-650

with Myles Lane, U. S. Attorney, New York, who expressed his approval of the position being taken by the Department. Mr. Lane stated that he would advise Mr. Robert Martin of his office.

The morning of March 4, I telephoned Mr. Robert Morris, General Counsel for the Internal Security Sub-Committee, Senate Judiciary Committee, and advised him of the Department's position and expressed hope that he would adopt a similar attitude. Mr. Morris stated that he believed the position taken by the Department of Justice was the proper one for everyone connected with that Department but felt that he was in a somewhat different position and thought it wise to continue the conversations which he had been having with Mr. Rogge and Mr. Browder. Mr. Morris stated that his objectives included making it clear to both Rogge and Browder that although the Department of Justice would not deal with him except through the FBI, he could, if he chose, cooperate with the Government by going directly to the FBI and making a full disclosure of all information which he has that might assist the Government.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AIR-TEL

NY 3/9/53

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, IS-C, PERJURY. AUSA ROBERT MARTIN, SDNY ADVISED O. JOHN ROGGE, ATTORNEY FOR BROWDER, HAD ADVISED HIM THAT A MEETING ATTENDED BY ROBERT MORRIS OF THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, ROGGE, PHILIP JAFFE, WAS HELD ON 3/6/53. AT THIS MEETING IT WAS SUGGESTED EARL BROWDER AND ANDRE MARTY, A RECENTLY DEPOSED LEADER OF THE CP IN FRANCE, START AN INDEPENDENT CP MOVEMENT OF THEIR OWN. MARTIN KNOWS NONE OF THE DETAILS OF THIS PROPOSED MOVEMENT NOR DOES HE KNOW WHO SUGGESTED SUCH A MOVEMENT. ROGGE ALSO INFORMED MARTIN THAT BROWDER DESIRED A CONFERENCE WITH THE USA, SDNY. MARTIN TOLD ROGGE THAT IF BROWDER DESIRED A CONFERENCE HE SHOULD CONTACT THE HEAD OF THE CRIMINAL DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OR THE FBI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/24/99 BY [REDACTED]

BOARDMAN

3-BUREAU
1-NY 100-80641
1-NY 100-86624

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140-3798-651
MAR 10 1953
17

DHW:EAB (#7)
100-25693

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

78 APR 9 1953

(E) THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, VERSUS EARL BROWDER AND BROWDERISM -
Bufile 40-3798 -- The captioned monograph has been prepared by the
Central Research Unit for the information and guidance of all Special

SAC LETTER NO. 53-19
3/10/53

- 4 -

Agents assigned to security investigations. It contains an analysis of the policies which led to the fall of Earl Russell Browder as a leader of the American Communist Party, which policies are generally referred to as Browderism. It further incorporates essential biographical data regarding Earl Browder plus an account of his activities since he was expelled from the Communist Party, USA, in February, 1946, and his present status.

This monograph should be added to your Field Office library and afforded adequate security.

Two copies of this document are being sent to Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Newark, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington Field Offices. One copy is being furnished to all other offices.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED / / /
DATE 9/27/83 BY [REDACTED]

40-3798
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED

b6
b7c

75 MAR 26 1953

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (39-878)(40-3798)

DATE: 3/24/53

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia (100-5102)

5146

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, Was.
IS - C, PERJURY

Vol I MARCH 1953 Feb 1954
Vol II MARCH 1953 Feb 1954

Remylet dated 4/6/51:

There are enclosed under separate cover a group of pamphlets and two volumes of the "Labor Herald" which were made available to SA EDWARD A. SMITH by Miss MARY R. GIBSON, who has previously furnished literature in the above-captioned case. Miss GIBSON stated that in going over her library she discovered two bound volumes of the "Labor Herald" which were formerly the property of her cousin, Miss CATHERINE BICKLEY, deceased, who resided with her in Wynnewood, Pa.

Examination of the fly leaf of these volumes disclosed that they were given to Miss BICKLEY by EARL BROWDER. It is to be noted that volume two contains a poem which is written by BROWDER and signed EARL dated 2/21/24.

These volumes are being forwarded to the Bureau in the event that they may be of assistance to the Laboratory as additional handwriting and handprinting specimens of BROWDER are needed.

Miss GIBSON also made available the following pamphlets which she stated she had recently located among the late Miss BICKLEY's personal possessions:

1. "The Communist Program" (An analysis of the principles of the Russian Communist Party) by N. KHRUSHCHEV.
2. "A review and some perspectives" by L. TROTSKY.
3. "Why a Political Re-alignment?", by PAUL H. DOUGLAS.
4. The Russian Constitution adopted 7/10/18.

Miss GIBSON advised that she had no interest whatsoever in these pamphlets and books and that the Bureau may make whatever disposition may determine necessary.

EAS:ell

cc: 1 for package

RECORDED 58

INDEXED - 2

MAR 25 1953

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UNRECORDED COPY IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 24 1953

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Ladd ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Clegg ☐
Mr. Glavin ☐
Mr. Harbo ☐
Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Tracy ☐
Mr. G. A. Nease ☐
Mr. Mohr ☐
Mr. Winterrowd ☐
Mr. Room ☐
Mr. Holloman ☐
Mr. Sizoo ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

WASH FROM NEW YORK 1 24 134 P
DIRECTOR URGENT

G. I. R. - 8

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, ISC-PERJURY. DAYLET. THE "NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE" THIS DATE CARRIED AN ARTICLE WHICH STATED SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY HAD SUBPOENAED EARL BROWDER TO APPEAR AT A PUBLIC HEARING BEFORE THE SENATE PERMANENT INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE ON MARCH TWENTY FIVE NEXT.

BOARDMAN

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DATE 6/24/99 BY [redacted]

CO. IN. 570
K. BELMONT
AND SUPERVISOR
DOEL INTEL. DIVISION

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : ¹⁴⁶ SAC, New York (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
IS - C
PERJURY

DATE: 3/25/53

Enclosed herewith is a copy of an article by MARGUERITE HIGGINS appearing in the "New York Herald Tribune" Section 2, page 2, col. 7, 8, dated 3/22/53, in which there is set out in question and answers form, an interview with EARL BROWDER.

In the article it is reported that BROWDER discussed his opposition to Soviet style Communism and his intention to organize a "democratic left" that will combine "Jefferson concepts of representative government and a socialist economy".

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Enclosed (1) to the Bureau
New York file 100-25693

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ENCLOSURE

Browder's Silence Ends, Now Out Against Russia

In Interview With Miss Higgins, He Hopes for New Left Party

This is another in a series of interviews by Marguerite Higgins,
New York Herald Tribune correspondent.

By Marguerite Higgins

AFTER eight years of self-imposed silence about Russia, Earl Browder, former Number One American Communist, announced yesterday his active opposition to Soviet-style Communism and his intention to organize a "democratic left" that will combine "Jeffersonian concepts of representative government and a socialist economy." He also discussed his fifteen years as chief of United States Communists, his expulsion from the party in 1945 and, for the first time, shed light on his reception in Moscow in 1946 by Foreign Minister Molotov.

Browder, with a background of fifteen years' association with the Red world's top leadership, predicts that with the death of Stalin and the advent to power of Georgi Malenkov, Soviet relations with the West will worsen in the immediate future. The sixty-one year old, stoop-shouldered former Communist fears that the military, or so-called war party, is gaining prominence in the Soviet regime.

Browder said that even after his expulsion from the American Communist party he had continued to "hope against hope" that the Soviet Union would see the wisdom of coming to an international settlement with the United States and that Russia would cease trying to impose by force its own authoritarian theories and practices on Marxists in other countries.

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DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

Best Illusions

Mr. Browder's answers are condensed and therefore not in quotes. Selected questions and answers follow:

Q.—When did you first become disillusioned about the Soviet?

A.—I didn't have many illusions to lose concerning Soviet internal affairs. I certainly never thought that what went on in Russia could be applied here. We used to explain away the authoritarian trend of the Communist party in terms of Russia's own authoritarian past and in terms of the Hitler threat. After the victory over fascism, there was no further excuse for the kind of hysterical authoritarian approach to all problems that has become characteristic of Soviet policy.

During my fifteen years as head of the party, we had been permitted to be independent and unorthodox. I consistently argued that in advanced Western countries socialism was appealing only if it was coupled with truly representative government. We rejected the idea that socialism could be imposed by force on any country and so stated in leaflets and books. After 1945 the Soviet Union gave up increasingly the attempt to present the socialist case on the basis of ideas. The militarists won out. Communism was spread by military power.

Q.—But from Soviet leadership's point of view wasn't it probably a sound policy in retrospect since the Red world has acquired 600 million people since 1946.

A.—It was successful at the price of creating great risks of another war.

Q.—Why did Stalin and his men permit you to follow such an independent and unorthodox policy?

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N. Y. N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

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A.—Between 1930 and 1945 the Soviets were primarily pre-occupied with Hitler and Europe. At that time the alternative of expanding the Communist world by force of arms was not open. To gain allies they resorted to the popular front.

Visit to Moscow

Q.—Did you have any warning of your expulsion by the Communists?

A.—First indication I had was a blast from the Communist press.

Q.—Why did the Russians permit you to go to Moscow in 1948 even though you were expelled by the American Communist party?

A.—Even at that time, although the anti-Western policies were hardening, Soviet leaders were still wavering. Eastern Europe was still allowed to talk about finding the synthesis between East and West. At least the Russian leaders were still interested in hearing me.

Q.—There was quite a stir in the press about your visit in Moscow that year?

A.—I was rather surprised myself when Molotov called me in. I was in his office for two hours, but I did most of the talking. I argued vehemently against attempts to export police state methods and against the harsh and provocative anti-American note that was even then cropping up in the Soviet press. It is my belief that the Soviet attitude toward America began to harden in great part as a result of the 1946 Foreign Ministers Conference. At this Conference the American Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, took a strong position on Eastern Europe. The Soviets decided that the Americans wanted to roll back Russian influence in that area and the Russians were determined to keep their influence there.

I argued with Molotov that the American government was fluid, did not have an iron-bound ideology, and that it was thus best to continue a friendly attitude and try persuasion rather than to act provocatively.

Comintern to Cominform

Q.—What was Molotov's reaction?

A.—He listened very attentively. He gave me the feeling that he was undecided. I asked Molotov only one pointed question: whether or not the Comintern would be re-established. He gave me a flat "no" in reply. But about two years later the Cominform came into being. And it is far more aggressively hostile to Democratic concepts than the Comintern ever was.

Q.—What do you think is the Soviet policy toward Western communism?

A.—The Soviets will take whatever gains they can, of course, but the principal efforts will go toward consolidation of power in the Soviet Union and its satellites. Satellites have been merged into the police state pattern. It's clear that the Soviet Union has given up any pretense of democratic methods even to the extent of free discussion they used to have within party councils.

Q.—When did you decide to go into opposition to the Communist party?

A.—I gave up all connections with Soviet publishing houses in 1949. With the war in Korea, it became clear that it was an urgent matter to expose the militaristic tendencies of the Soviet Union—tendencies quite in opposition to the wishes of its own people and above all to the democratic Left of which I count myself a part.

Scapegoats Needed

Q.—Do you think the anti-Semitic drive is part of the consolidation of power tied in with these military ventures?

A.—I think the anti-Semitic drive is coldly calculated as a diversion within the Soviet Union to take people's minds off their material troubles and give the excuse for usual police state methods. For purges are necessary to quell spontaneous questions of the people. The anti-Semitic drive makes an example of a minority as a warning to all that they cannot diverge in the slightest from government line.

Q.—You've been a strong critic of things American. Communist and Socialist theory emphasizes the international. What are your ideas about such basic things as patriotism?

A.—I think the American government has a right to expect that its citizens' loyalties will go first to this country and certainly not to be employed in the services of a foreign country. I'm under no illusions as to the comparative degrees of freedom. If I had expressed myself in the Soviet Union or any of its satellites as freely as I have here, I would either have been dead, in jail or a slave.

Mr. Browder is living with his wife in Yonkers. They are under indictment for allegedly having made false statements with regard to her application for a passport.

He is also under heavy journalistic indictment of the Communist "Daily Worker" which contends that he never was a true Communist at all.

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DATE 12/3/01 BY SP2ALM-1/18

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ENCLOSURE

IS WAR NEARER?

An Ex-Communist's View . . . by Earl Browder

IN DEATH as in life Stalin was unique: there is no gauge by which he can be assessed, no label under which he can be pigeonholed. And just as the power concentrated in Stalin's hands during his life grew to unparalleled proportions, so his passing will have unprecedented repercussions.

There can be no successor to Stalin; his shoes must forever remain empty. This is true because his power had a single-historical function which has been completed. It developed from his role in lifting Russia out of medieval conditions into those of a modern industrial society, compressing into three decades a process which in Western Europe and America was spread over three hundred years. This tenfold speeding up of history, this forced march of the Russian people out of the seventeenth century into the twentieth, was led and organized by Stalin. He alone of all Russian leaders held to this goal with ferocious tenacity, overcoming all obstacles whatever the cost, driving the entire nation along the marked path, imbuing it with his will, mercilessly sacrificing the laggards. The nation responded, and as it gathered momentum on its course, it built the personal power of its commander to greater and greater heights. With Russia's victory in World War II and with the reconstruction of its economy after the war, the purpose which had energized this superhuman effort was accomplished. For the first time in its history Russia was invincible; it had a modern economy second only to that of America; it was a first-class power.

Most Americans fail to realize that with Stalin's historical task accomplished, the Russian leadership that will follow him will necessarily be entirely

different. The new leadership will inherit an industrialized Russia; it will have different tasks and therefore play a different role. Thus Stalin can have no successor in the ordinary sense of the word.

THE STALIN ERA in Russia might be compared with the period of the "Robber Barons" in our industrial history. But the American industrial barons were limited in their scope to single regions and industries, whereas their Stalinist counterparts were organized into a homogeneous national machine, a sort of gigantic "trust" in which the traditional profit motive was replaced by socialist slogans. The rule of the Robber Barons in this country had to give way to a regime of law and orderly progress when the economy had been developed to a high level, and an analogous change will take place in the technique of Russian leadership.

Unfortunately for world peace, however, neither Soviet nor American political thought recognizes the meaning of the approaching change in Russia. Soviet thinking is still dominated by the concept of hostile encirclement, which in the world of physical reality has been breached beyond possible reconstruction. The heartland of the capitalist world, America, has today fully as sound reasons to consider itself the victim of "socialist encirclement," though in this case too the encirclement is more psychological than physical.

The danger of war will be accentuated by the passing of Stalin. For it was characteristic of him that while his iron nerves did not know the meaning of fear, he always avoided adventurous international policies and restrained his more reckless colleagues. He consistently opposed the post-war revolutionary adventures in Greece, and continued to support the project of a *modus vivendi* in China right up to the eve of Chiang Kai-shek's collapse before the rising armies under Mao Tse-tung.

Stalin valued America highly and wanted friendly relations with America. His latest published utterance, reported by India's Dr. Saifudin Kitchlew in the *New York Times* of February 25, reflects this long-standing attitude, which was widely at variance with official Russian propaganda against America. The second rank of leaders, perhaps from too long reliance upon Stalin to do all the original thinking, seem to be unable to deal with America except in terms of hysterical abuse. They who must form the post-Stalin leadership of the Soviet Union seem much less well prepared than Stalin was to define and solve the historical problem of "coexistence."

Thus it would be utopian to expect that the new leadership in Russia, in its first phase, will pursue a more enlightened policy in either domestic or foreign affairs. On the contrary, it may for a time be even more intolerant and aggressive in its attitude and mood.

IN 1926 I attended the Sixth and Seventh Enlarged Plenum meetings of the Comintern Executive and the fifteenth Russian Communist Party Conference at Moscow. At these gatherings I saw Stalin rise to undisputed primacy in the leadership of Russian and international communism by winning a rigorous intellectual battle without precedent in the records of politics. I studied Stalin's thought, and while I was never close to him personally, it was my feeling during fifteen years as the head of the American Communist Party that it was Stalin's influence that kept hostile critics from demolishing my policies for the American party, which were always adjusted to America's unique features and were often unorthodox. When from 1945 on I found myself in deep and growing disagreement with the international line of the Communist movement, so much so that I no longer call myself a Communist, I believed and still believe that the 1945 collapse of the American Communist Party was one of

EARL BROWDER was secretary of the American Communist Party from 1930 to 1945 and representative of Soviet publishers in the United States in 1946-49. He is now a free-lance writer and lecturer.

March 14, 1953

the by-products of Stalin's retirement from active operational leadership.

With the end of the Stalin era Soviet hegemony over the world socialist movement also comes to an end. It is now clear that the Soviet type of socialism, though attractive to the economically backward countries, is not accept-

able to the working classes of the industrially advanced Western countries with long experience in democratic self-government. For a whole period to come, different types of socialism will develop in different regions.

Stalin had come to occupy so much "political space" in his own personal

right, space which can never again be occupied by any one leader, that his incapacity or death creates a tremendous vacuum. How this vacuum will gradually be filled, and an equilibrium again be reached in world politics, is perhaps the most serious problem facing the world.

MAN AND SYMBOL . . by Alexander Werth

Paris
STALIN'S death has opened the floodgates for torrents of copy, some laudatory, most petty and malicious, and nearly all fantastically sensational.

The reaction of anyone who has actually been in the Soviet Union for any length of time is bound to be different. The only press story which seemed to me to ring true was the United Press dispatch telling of the people weeping in the streets of Moscow and whispering in the street cars as if they were actually in the death chamber. In my seven-year stay in the Soviet Union, I found that the attitude of the Russian people toward Stalin had no parallel anywhere. It was nothing like what the Germans felt for Hitler, though in some respects it resembled the British attitude toward the royal family. The German's feeling for Hitler was intensely personal; the Russian's for Stalin was personal in only a limited sense. Stalin was the *khoziain*, the "boss," who led the country through good days and bad and generally succeeded in what he set out to do.

Until 1928 Russia was still Zoshchenko's humorous Russia, still much like Mayakovsky's romantic revolutionary Russia. In 1928 Stalin definitely took over. The early thirties were a terribly hard time, marked by stupendous exertion, injustice, and ruthlessness. During the second half of the decade the injustices and ruthlessness continued, but even the doubters saw that "things were working." It was only during this short period that Stalin made an effort to popularize himself in a direct personal

way, appearing at school children's rallies and the like. Then came the war, which made Stalin what he still is to the Russian people. Yet even the pre-war Stalin had become reasonably popular. He had checked the over-zealous collectivization program, for which in fact he himself had been responsible, and had acquired a reputation for moderation. There is no doubt that Stalin, even while he created public opinion, also kept his finger on the pulse of the country, and his incomparably better understanding of the Russian people facilitated his victory over Trotsky, the un-Russian intellectual.

For most Russians Stalin is the man who on, October 16, 1941, with the Germans at Moscow's gates, never lost his nerve and unostentatiously stayed in the Kremlin planning the counter-blow with his generals. He seldom appeared in public or spoke on the radio, but everybody was aware of his presence, and throughout the war his prestige grew, fed by his enormous self-confidence, his strength of character, his capacity to choose the right people for

running the war and dealing with Russia's allies, and above all his judgment.

It is not true that Stalin became a demigod to his people. But since apart from Stalin the man there was also Stalin the symbol of the Soviet state, it was felt inevitable that he should receive the highest adulation and nearly exclusive credit for the state's achievements. No one believed in his infallibility; Stalin himself confessed at the end of the war, "We made numerous mistakes." But there was always the conviction that Stalin was smarter than most people. Despite the element of toadying in the talk of his genius, in the hyperbolic poetry addressed to him, especially by Oriental bards—at which Stalin himself tended to laugh—the adulation was directed more to the symbol than to the man.

In Freudian terminology Stalin was the father who created a feeling of security and self-confidence among his people. Emotionally, therefore, Stalin's disappearance is a grave blow to every Russian, even the malcontents, especially in the present international situation. There has been an irrational belief in Russia that so long as Stalin lived the worst could be averted.

Stalin the man is irreplaceable, at least for a long time. The problem is whether Stalin the "boss" and Stalin the "symbol" can be replaced. Malenkov represents the Soviet-bred younger generation and cannot fill the role of "father."

In the coming months a conflict between two generations is not inconceivable, but the memory of Stalin and his "presence" will tend to have a settling and unifying effect on the new leaders of the Russian people.



BRANDER

Malenkov

ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's Paris correspondent, spent seven years in Moscow as a journalist.

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III
Criminal Division

March 24, 1953

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
FBI File 40-3798

40-3798-656

RECORDED - 90
INDEXED - 90

G.I.R. - 9

For your information I am transmitting a Photostat of an article which appeared in the March 7, 1953, edition of "I. F. Stone's Weekly," published in Washington, D. C.

The article is entitled "The Man Who Refused to be a Budenz." The article contains a number of allegations, among them one that the Government is attempting to destroy Browder and his wife because he refuses to become an informant. It is also alleged that on February 24, 1953, the Government asked for an indefinite postponement of the trial of the Browders on perjury charges and hinted that the case was being dropped. According to the article, the next day a warrant for deportation was issued against Mrs. Browder.

As you know, Stone has been the subject of an investigation by this Bureau and copies of reports concerning him have been furnished to your Department.

Enclosure

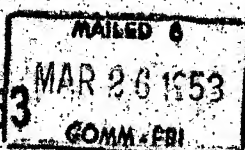
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ON 11-16-82

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Tolson
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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE:

MAR 5 1953

FROM : Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

WO:mms

SUBJECT: Earl Russell Browder
Internal Security - C

146-11-350

Reference is made to your memorandum of February 27 and my memorandum of March 4, concerning certain contacts made by Browder's attorney, O. John Rogge, with the United States Attorney's office in New York City concerning the possibility that Browder might furnish information to the Government.

I received a telephone call from Mr. Rogge concerning the above matter at 10:20 a.m. March 4. Mr. Rogge stated that he had discussed our previous conversation with Mr. Browder and that Mr. Browder was of the opinion that everybody in the Government was taking out after him with a hatchet.

Mr. Rogge said that he felt that Browder's indictment was a mistake; that he had discussed with Mr. Martin and Mr. Morris the possibility of Browder being of assistance to the Government. Mr. Rogge stated that while these conversations were still going on the deportation proceeding against Browder's wife was begun and with these things in the background, followed by my conversation of yesterday, that Mr. Browder concluded that the Government was out "to get him".

I told Mr. Rogge that I knew nothing of the criminal case against Browder except that it existed, that I was not familiar with the evidence nor reason why the indictment was returned when it was. I also told him that I was not familiar with the deportation proceeding against Mrs. Browder and did not know such a proceeding was contemplated until I read about it in the newspaper.

Again, I reiterated the substance of what I told Mr. Rogge yesterday, repeating that it was not my intention nor the intention of the Department of Justice to repulse Mr. Browder if he had any desire to cooperate with the

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Government; that I intended only to make it clear that any such cooperation must be carried out in the regular way which means through the FBI. Mr. Rogge stated that he understood this perfectly and also understood the reason for it and he would do his best to explain it to Mr. Browder. Mr. Rogge stated he did not know how Mr. Browder would feel about walking into an FBI office to make a statement. He stated that Mr. Leo Rover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General handling the Lattimore case, had inquired whether Browder would be willing to testify against Lattimore and that this incident might show what Browder was willing to do. I replied that perhaps this was so but, of course, if Mr. Rover was to call Browder as a witness, he would have to know in advance as to what Browder would testify to.

At this point Mr. Rogge interrupted me and said, "Of course, and I understand that this would necessarily mean that Browder would have to be interviewed in advance by the FBI as all other witnesses are interviewed." This concluded our conversation.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER *SP*

DATE: MAR 22 1953

FROM : MR. P. L. COX *PL*SUBJECT: RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - CBureau File Number 40-3798

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Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Laughlin	_____
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Winterrowd	_____
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Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Memorandum dated 2/27/53 from
Mr. Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General,
Criminal Division, Department of Justice, to the
Director, included the following in a list of names
approved for inclusion in the Security Index.

Name Earl Russell BrowderOffice of Origin New YorkDate of Birth 5/20/91

40-3798-657

RECORDED - 47 38 APR 14 1953

The approval appears in serial 100-398030-8PLC:mlp *7*

83 APR 22 1953

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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DATE 5/31/00 BY [redacted]

Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
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WASH 7 FROM NEW YORK 8 4-13 PM
DIRECTOR URGENT

G. I. R. - 9
[Handwritten signature]

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS. IS C - PERJURY. AUSA ROBERT MARTIN, SDNY, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT AN ORDER HAD BEEN ISSUED BY FEDERAL JUDGE JOHN W. CLANCY, SDNY, ON APRIL SIX LAST GIVING EARL BROWDER PERMISSION TO LEAVE THE JURISDICTION OF THE SDNY FOR TRAVEL TO WASHINGTON, DC WHERE BROWDER WILL HOLD INFORMAL CONFERENCES WITH ROBERT MORRIS, COUNSEL FOR THE US SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE. THESE CONFERENCES WERE TO BEGIN APRIL SEVEN LAST AND END APRIL NINE NEXT.

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BOARDMAN

APR 15 1953

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APR 27 1953

F-171

44-3798-658
[Handwritten signature]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. LADD

DATE: April 23, 1953

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

Tolson _____
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 Gearty _____
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 Winterrowd _____
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 Holloman _____
 Sizoo _____
 Miss Gandy _____

While I was in the office of Mr. William Foley, of the Department, on the morning of April 23, 1953, at his request to discuss possible action against the Communist Party for failure to register as an agent of a foreign principal, I inquired whether there had been any developments concerning Earl Browder as to whether he was going to furnish information in his possession to the government. You will recall that Browder's attorney, Rogge, has been jockeying with the Department concerning this.

Mr. Lenvin, who was present, advised that Rogge had talked to him recently concerning the Department's move to require Margaret Browder, sister of Earl Browder, to register under Section 20A of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. At that time Lenvin asked Rogge whether Browder would testify concerning the control of the Communist Party by a foreign principal, namely, the Soviet Union. Rogge indicated that Browder "wants to retain his intellectual honesty" and consequently does not want to talk about any outside control or foreign aspects of the Communist Party.

This is made a matter of record for information to indicate how Browder is thinking at this time.

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 DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

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RECORDED - 103

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13

APR 24 1953

INT SEC

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

FROM : V. P. KEAY *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

~~SECRET~~

DATE: April 21, 1952

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Harbo _____
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Holloman _____
Sizoo _____
Miss Gandy _____

f-1 [REDACTED] furnished the following information to Liaison Agent Papich on April 20, 1952. (S) b3

[REDACTED] who considers himself to be an expert on world Communism, recently had a long and "very secret talk" with Earl Browder. [REDACTED] received this information from [REDACTED] who has been closely associated with [REDACTED] in the past. [REDACTED] stated that he was unable to determine the nature of the discussion between [REDACTED] and Browder. (S) b7D

ACTION:

The above is submitted as a matter of record. This matter is also being referred to the Espionage and Internal Security Sections.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

12/6/01 [REDACTED] DERIVATIVE
CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
(PARA. 1 PER OGA LTR 12/4/01)

RECORDED-52

140-5175-660
APR 23 1952
30

- 1 - Mr. Bacon
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

MAY 22 1952
MAY 6 1952

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: MAY 14, 1953

FROM : Mr. V. P. Keady

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

furnished the following information to Liaison Agent Papich on May 12, 1953, [redacted] Although [redacted] did not say so specifically, he strongly inferred that his [redacted]

Several weeks ago Robert Morris, Counsel for the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, [redacted] to handle an interview of Earl Browder. As you know, [redacted] professes to be an expert on world Communism. He has been friendly with [redacted] [redacted] did not know why or how [redacted] was chosen to handle the interview. This interview was held on April 8, 1953. Attached hereto is a copy of a memorandum allegedly prepared by [redacted] covering the results of the interview. The copy of the memorandum was furnished to [redacted]

The report of the alleged interview of Browder sets forth the subject's views concerning relations between the Soviet Union and the West. Browder denied that he ever was a Soviet military agent or an espionage agent. He claims that he is influencing the Tito Government through Rudy Baker who is now in Belgrade. He argues that the United States should have helped Mao Tse-tung in China in 1947 and made him dependent on American economic support. Browder stated that he was "close to government circles during the war and that he cooperated closely with F.D.R." He told of sending a draft of one of his proposed speeches on the war effort to Roosevelt who told him that he had received an identical copy the previous night from the FBI. (S) - [REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATI

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

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INDEXED-38

44-3798-661

JUN 5 1953

Inasmuch as Browder is the subject of a current investigation, it is recommended that the instant memorandum and the attachment be referred to the Internal Security Section for appropriate review and analysis.

Attachment

cc: Mr. Nichols

40-3798

SJP:ncw

This is indeed strange! The very
Committee we have aided so much
doesn't advise around the [redacted] through a week
has passed. [redacted] has been
equally silent & an outsider. [redacted]
has again & finishes it & ad a. [redacted]
I recall definitely in our [redacted] program
the [redacted] under & got now [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Bureau File 40-3798

DATE: May 25, 1953

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

Referenced memorandum from Mr. Keay to Mr. Belmont dated May 14, 1953, sets forth results of an interview with Browder by [redacted] as furnished to the Bureau in strictest confidence [redacted] (U)

[redacted] Browder interviewed by Bureau Agents under Toplev Program on May 19, 1952, and June 12, 1952, which was prior to his indictment on perjury charges. Substance of interviews with Agents similar to that furnished [redacted] Browder made critical comments of a general nature concerning Soviet Government and Communist Party, USA, denied involvement in espionage, and did not furnish any specific information of intelligence value. Browder and wife indicted and arrested on September 30, 1952, on perjury charges, but no date set for trial as yet. [Analysis of information furnished by Browder to [redacted] shows that it is largely self-serving; no admissions were made by Browder, his involvement in espionage was denied, several misstatements of fact are included, and his comments concerning the Soviet Government and the Communist Party, USA, consist of generalizations and speculations. Possibility pointed out Browder may be entering into these conversations to create impression he is cooperating with Government and evade prosecution.] (S) (U)

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this memorandum be forwarded to Mr. Nichols and it is suggested that he take up this matter with Mr. Morris. [redacted] In order to avoid endangering the [redacted] it is suggested that Morris be advised that we have received information that Browder was permitted by the Federal Court to leave New York for interviews with Morris in April, 1953. The Bureau should be furnished the results of any interviews had with Browder by Morris so that the [redacted] may be advised. (S) (U)

RECORDED - 110

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JJW:rmw

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JUN 5 1953

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40-3798-6621
JUN 5 1953
Browder Taken
5/26/53

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

12-601
CLASSIFIED BY
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X
(S) 12-5, 16-4, 18-1, 3-1, 3-2, 3-3, 3-4, 3-5, 3-6, 3-7, 3-8, 3-9, 3-10, 3-11, 3-12, 3-13, 3-14, 3-15, 3-16, 3-17, 3-18, 3-19, 3-20, 3-21, 3-22, 3-23, 3-24, 3-25, 3-26, 3-27, 3-28, 3-29, 3-30, 3-31, 3-32, 3-33, 3-34, 3-35, 3-36, 3-37, 3-38, 3-39, 3-40, 3-41, 3-42, 3-43, 3-44, 3-45, 3-46, 3-47, 3-48, 3-49, 3-50, 3-51, 3-52, 3-53, 3-54, 3-55, 3-56, 3-57, 3-58, 3-59, 3-60, 3-61, 3-62, 3-63, 3-64, 3-65, 3-66, 3-67, 3-68, 3-69, 3-70, 3-71, 3-72, 3-73, 3-74, 3-75, 3-76, 3-77, 3-78, 3-79, 3-80, 3-81, 3-82, 3-83, 3-84, 3-85, 3-86, 3-87, 3-88, 3-89, 3-90, 3-91, 3-92, 3-93, 3-94, 3-95, 3-96, 3-97, 3-98, 3-99, 3-100, 3-101, 3-102, 3-103, 3-104, 3-105, 3-106, 3-107, 3-108, 3-109, 3-110, 3-111, 3-112, 3-113, 3-114, 3-115, 3-116, 3-117, 3-118, 3-119, 3-120, 3-121, 3-122, 3-123, 3-124, 3-125, 3-126, 3-127, 3-128, 3-129, 3-130, 3-131, 3-132, 3-133, 3-134, 3-135, 3-136, 3-137, 3-138, 3-139, 3-140, 3-141, 3-142, 3-143, 3-144, 3-145, 3-146, 3-147, 3-148, 3-149, 3-150, 3-151, 3-152, 3-153, 3-154, 3-155, 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3-585, 3-586, 3-587, 3-588, 3-589, 3-590, 3-591, 3-592, 3-593, 3-594, 3-595, 3-596, 3-597, 3-598, 3-599, 3-600, 3-601, 3-602, 3-603, 3-604, 3-605, 3-606, 3-607, 3-608, 3-609, 3-610, 3-611, 3-612, 3-613, 3-614, 3-615, 3-616, 3-617, 3-618, 3-619, 3-620, 3-621, 3-622, 3-623, 3-624, 3-625, 3-626, 3-627, 3-628, 3-629, 3-630, 3-631, 3-632, 3-633, 3-634, 3-635, 3-636, 3-637, 3-638, 3-639, 3-640, 3-641, 3-642, 3-643, 3-644, 3-645, 3-646, 3-647, 3-648, 3-649, 3-650, 3-651, 3-652, 3-653, 3-654, 3-655, 3-656, 3-657, 3-658, 3-659, 3-660, 3-661, 3-662, 3-663, 3-664, 3-665, 3-666, 3-667, 3-668, 3-669, 3-670, 3-671, 3-672, 3-673, 3-674, 3-675, 3-676, 3-677, 3-678, 3-679, 3-680, 3-681, 3-682, 3-683, 3-684, 3-685, 3-686, 3-687, 3-688, 3-689, 3-690, 3-691, 3-692, 3-693, 3-694, 3-695, 3-696, 3-697, 3-698, 3-699, 3-700, 3-701, 3-702, 3-703, 3-704, 3-705, 3-706, 3-707, 3-708, 3-709, 3-710, 3-711, 3-712, 3-713, 3-714, 3-715, 3-716, 3-717, 3-718, 3-719, 3-720, 3-721, 3-722, 3-723, 3-724, 3-725, 3-726, 3-727, 3-728, 3-729, 3-730, 3-731, 3-732, 3-733, 3-734, 3-735, 3-736, 3-737, 3-738, 3-739, 3-740, 3-741, 3-742, 3-743, 3-744, 3-745, 3-746, 3-747, 3-748, 3-749, 3-750, 3-751, 3-752, 3-753, 3-754, 3-755, 3-756, 3-757, 3-758, 3-759, 3-760, 3-761, 3-762, 3-763, 3-764, 3-765, 3-766, 3-767, 3-768, 3-769, 3-770, 3-771, 3-772, 3-773, 3-774, 3-775, 3-776, 3-777, 3-778, 3-779, 3-780, 3-781, 3-782, 3-783, 3-784, 3-785, 3-786, 3-787, 3-788, 3-789, 3-790, 3-791, 3-792, 3-793, 3-794, 3-795, 3-796, 3-797, 3-798, 3-799, 3-800, 3-801, 3-802, 3-803, 3-804, 3-805, 3-806, 3-807, 3-808, 3-809, 3-810, 3-811, 3-812, 3-813, 3-814, 3-815, 3-816, 3-817, 3-818, 3-819, 3-820, 3-821, 3-822, 3-823, 3-824, 3-825, 3-826, 3-827, 3-828, 3-829, 3-830, 3-831, 3-832, 3-833, 3-834, 3-835, 3-836, 3-837, 3-838, 3-839, 3-840, 3-841, 3-842, 3-843, 3-844, 3-845, 3-846, 3-847, 3-848, 3-849, 3-850, 3-851, 3-852, 3-853, 3-854, 3-855, 3-856, 3-857, 3-858, 3-859, 3-860, 3-861, 3-862, 3-863, 3-864, 3-865, 3-866, 3-867, 3-868, 3-869, 3-870, 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4-014, 4-015, 4-016, 4-017, 4-018, 4-019, 4-020, 4-021, 4-022, 4-023, 4-024, 4-025, 4-026, 4-027, 4-028, 4-029, 4-030, 4-031, 4-032, 4-033, 4-034, 4-035, 4-036, 4-037, 4-038, 4-039, 4-040, 4-041, 4-042, 4-043, 4-044, 4-045, 4-046, 4-047, 4-048, 4-049, 4-050, 4-051, 4-052, 4-053, 4-054, 4-055, 4-056, 4-057, 4-058, 4-059, 4-060, 4-061, 4-062, 4-063, 4-064, 4-065, 4-066, 4-067, 4-068, 4-069, 4-070, 4-071, 4-072, 4-073, 4-074, 4-075, 4-076, 4-077, 4-078, 4-079, 4-080, 4-081, 4-082, 4-083, 4-084, 4-085, 4-086, 4-087, 4-088, 4-089, 4-090, 4-091, 4-092, 4-093, 4-094, 4-095, 4-096, 4-097, 4-098, 4-099, 4-100, 4-101, 4-102, 4-103, 4-104, 4-105, 4-106, 4-107, 4-108, 4-109, 4-110, 4-111, 4-112, 4-113, 4-114, 4-115, 4-116, 4-117, 4-118, 4-119, 4-120, 4-121, 4-122, 4-123, 4-124, 4-125, 4-126, 4-127, 4-128, 4-129, 4-130, 4-131, 4-132, 4-133, 4-134, 4-135, 4-136, 4-137, 4-138, 4-139, 4-140, 4-141, 4-142, 4-143, 4-144, 4-145, 4-146, 4-147, 4-148, 4-149, 4-150, 4-151, 4-152, 4-153, 4-154, 4-155, 4-156, 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DETAILS:

Memorandum dated May 14, 1953, from Mr. Keay to Mr. Belmont. [REDACTED] transmitted a memorandum obtained from [REDACTED] which reported the results of an interview on April 8, 1953, between the subject and [REDACTED] (U)

b3

Interviews With Browder Under Toplev Program

Browder was interviewed twice under the Toplev Program by Bureau Agents on May 19, 1952, and June 12, 1952. Browder was cordial in his conversations with the interviewing Agents and expressed considerable admiration for the Bureau and the policies of the FBI as set forth by the Director. However, Browder would not discuss any specific aspects of the Communist Party, USA, and denied that he had ever been involved in espionage. On the occasion of the first interview, Browder indicated that he might be willing to participate in what he termed a "political" discussion with "high policy makers" of the country regarding matters which he felt would not be of interest to the Bureau. In the second interview, Browder was questioned more closely concerning this "political" discussion. Browder, at that time, made a number of critical comments concerning the policies of the Soviet Union and concerning the Communist Party, USA, which are similar to those set out in the memorandum of his conversation with [REDACTED]. However, it is noted that these comments of Browder, while critical, are extremely general in nature or consist of speculations which are not susceptible to proof at the present time. Browder, in his interviews with the Agents, disclaimed any knowledge of espionage and declined to answer questions concerning specific matters of interest to this Bureau from an intelligence viewpoint. (U)

b3

Prosecutive Action Concerning Browder And Contacts
By Browder's Attorney With United States Attorney's
Office In New York

Browder and his wife were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in New York City on September 30, 1952, on perjury charges arising from alleged false statements made by them in connection with Mrs. Browder's petition for naturalization. The Statute of Limitations was due to expire concerning these statements on October 14, 1952. Following

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his arrest, Browder engaged O. John Rogge as his attorney and launched a letter-writing campaign to raise funds for his defense. No date has been set as yet for this trial. Deportation proceedings were initiated against Browder's wife by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and she was arrested by them in February, 1953.

In February, 1953, Browder wrote a series of articles for the "New York Post" which were extremely critical of the Soviet Government. At about the same time, his attorney, Rogge, approached the United States Attorney's office, in New York to indicate that Browder desired to talk. Rogge also indicated that Browder was willing to make a speech over the Voice of America program to foreign countries denouncing Russian nationalism. Rogge indicated on another occasion that Browder might be willing to testify against Owan Lattimore. Rogge further suggested that a conference be held which would include as participants Browder, himself, Philip Jaffe, Robert Morris of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, representatives of the United States Attorney's Office, and the FBI. No reason was advanced as to the necessity for the presence of Morris or Jaffe.

The position of the Bureau was made known to the Department in unmistakable terms that the Bureau would not be a part of any deal made with Browder; that if he desired to talk he would have to make a full disclosure of all his activities which would, of course, include his active participation in espionage. It was pointed out that the Bureau desired no further contact with him until he had made a decision to make a full disclosure and that it was the Bureau's position that the FBI was the sole agency to which such a disclosure should be made.

Under date of March 4, 1953, Warren Olney of the Criminal Division advised that these comments had been given to Rogge and also that Robert Morris of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee had been advised. Morris stated that he felt the position of the Department of Justice was proper but that he was in a different position and that he thought it wise to continue his conversations with Rogge and Browder.

Information was received by New York Office teletype dated April 8, 1953, that the United States Attorney's Office had informed that Browder was given permission to leave the Southern District of New York for informal conferences to be held with Robert Morris, Counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee from April 7 to April 9.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 25, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

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Nichols _____
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Holloman _____
Sizoo _____
Miss Gandy _____

Jack Carley of the Memphis Commercial Appeal called this morning. He stated Frank Ahlgren, the Editor, had asked him to see if we could not give them a little advice. They have a mimeographed circular from James V. Spadea, Spadea Syndicate, telephone Bryant 9-8426, 120 West 31st Street, New York City, announcing a series of 12 articles by Earl Browder, entitled "Earl Browder Speaks." The mimeographed sheet states that Earl Browder in his articles will discuss his relations with FDR, his relations with Stalin, the government proceedings in the deportation case against his wife, why he is not a Red and what he thinks of Soviet policies.

Carley stated the Commercial Appeal wanted to buy the articles if they were anti-Communist and were any good, but they did not want to buy them until they had some word. I told Jack offhand I did not know about the Spadea Syndicate; that we would see what we could find out and let him know.

We have no record in our files on the Spadea Syndicate, however, of my own knowledge, I do know Victor Lasky, who collaborated with Ralph de Toledano in the book "Seeds of Treason" and who worked formerly for the New York World Telegram, is the Editor-in-Chief Spadea Syndicate. I think we should make a discreet check to see what these articles are and I would have no hesitancy in calling Lasky and asking for a copy of them as I am sure he would give them to us,

cc: Mr. Ladd
Mr. Belmont

LBN:MP

INDEXED-34

RECORDED-34

40-3798-663
JUN 5 1953

78 JUN 29 1953

ALL INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

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b7c

SECRET

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III
Criminal Division

June 2, 1953

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Director, FBI

CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1
(PG 213 PER OGA LTR 12-4-01)

DERIVATIVE

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
FBI File 40-3798

40-3798-663X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

40-3798-663

Browder received permission from the United States District Court in New York City to travel to Washington, D. C., for a series of interviews with Robert Morris of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, April 7 to April 9, 1953.

It was learned from a confidential source that Browder was interviewed during that time by [REDACTED]

b3

[REDACTED] at the request of Robert Morris. This fact was not made known to this Bureau by Morris until May 24, 1953, at which time Morris, when directly approached, admitted that the interview had taken place and that Murphy's participation had been at the suggestion of Benjamin Mandell, Director of Research for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

For your information, a copy of the memorandum reflecting the results of this interview is attached. You will note that as far as Browder is concerned, it is completely self-serving and no admissions of any kind were made concerning himself. He denies that he has ever been engaged in espionage or related activities or that his wife had any connection with the Communist Party.

As you will recall, I have on previous occasions taken the position that the FBI is the proper agency to which Browder should make any disclosures. You have indicated that the [REDACTED] agreed with this policy and that it was made known to O. John Rogge, who is Browder's attorney. Browder, as head of the Communist Party for many years, undoubtedly possesses vast knowledge of the activities and personalities in the Communist movement and, in addition, he was alleged to have been deeply involved in Soviet espionage. This information, of course, would be of great value to the internal security of this country.

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JUN 2 1953
MAILED 25

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Miss Gandy _____

JJW:mmm

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL
(See note on yellow page 2)

SECRET

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However, there has been no indication that Browder intends to follow through on the contacts his attorney made with the United States Attorney's office in New York City relative to his cooperation with the Government.

In this present situation, it appears that Browder has been laying the groundwork for an attempt to evade prosecution by stating that he has been cooperating, not only with a Congressional committee, but with representatives of the executive branch of the Government.

It has also been learned that attempts are being made to publish a series of twelve articles by Browder entitled "Earl Browder Speaks." These articles are reported to discuss Browder's relations with President Roosevelt, with Stalin, Soviet foreign policy and the Government's deportation case against his wife. This would appear to be a further attempt on his part to enlist public sympathy in his efforts to forestall legal action against him.

I would appreciate being advised of any comments you may have concerning this situation and how it might affect the outcome of the prosecution now pending against Browder.

Enclosure

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Browder, former head of the CP, USA, indicted September 1952 along with wife on perjury charges. Contacts made with United States Attorney's office January 1953, indicating possibility Browder might cooperate with Government.

Information re Browder's forthcoming articles set out in Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson, May 25, 1953.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: EARL R. BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

May 26, 1953

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While discussing other matters with Robert Morris of the Internal Security Committee on Sunday, May 24, I jumped him on the [redacted] I told Morris I was beginning to wonder more and more if we were not being played as a bunch of suckers; that we had had an exceedingly cordial relationship with him; that it was true he had told me that Browder and Rogge had come down to see him; however, he had never told me that Browder had been turned over to [redacted] for interview, and that it was somewhat of a surprise to find a memorandum coming to us from sources completely outside the Government; that one of the sources through which the memorandum came was one on which there could be some honest doubts. I further told Morris about the tendencies of [redacted] of withholding information and his double-dealing over the years and that we did not appreciate in the least this development.

Morris stated that Ben Mandel had suggested that [redacted] interview Browder; that he was amazed when [redacted] sent him a copy of the memorandum of the interview and he was pretty much concerned about the memorandum which in the body refers to Budenz as a perjurer; that he has no doubt that copies of this memorandum have been pretty widely circulated.

I told him that he was absolutely correct and that they no doubt were in the files of numerous individuals in and out of government; that I very well knew of the firm position the Department took of stating that if Browder was to be interviewed by anybody it was to be by the Bureau and the fact that [redacted] who is in the Executive Branch of the Government, went ahead and interviewed Browder completely undercuts not only the Bureau but the [redacted]

Morris stated this was inexcusable; that he should never have acceded to [redacted] suggestion; that he was sorry and something like this would never happen again.

I further took occasion to tell Morris that we had reason to believe that the 51-page document based upon highly restricted document prepared by the Bureau emanated from the [redacted] and there were strong circumstances leading one to believe [redacted] may have been the individual who originated

cc: Mr. Ladd
cc: Mr. Belmont
LBN:hmc

RECORDED - 116

JUN 5 1953

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See Original 1012
8-1-53
TJH

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

May 26, 1953

this; that obviously this could have been done for no good purpose; that if, in fact, [] did issue it then his actions were nothing short of scandalous and reprehensible. Morris agreed to this.

b3

gpm ✓ ✓
The more I see how
these Committee Staffs
spin us around & when
"called" are profuse in
apologies the more I in-
cline to the view that we
must sooner or later
ring down the curtain
on Cooperation since it
is now solely a one way
street leading from
us.

H,

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 28, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/3/01 BY

SUBJECT: BROWDER

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 Ladd b6 _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont b7C _____
 Clegg _____
 Glavin _____
 Harbo _____
 Rosen _____
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 Gearty _____
 Mohr _____
 Winterrowd _____
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 Holloman _____
 Sizoo _____
 Miss Gandy _____

GIR-5

I called Victor Lasky, the editor-in-chief of the Spadea Syndicate in New York, and told him that we had had some rumbles about their syndication of a series of articles by Browder. Lasky stated that the thought occurred to him to send us copies; that this was an oversight and he would do it immediately.

He stated that James Spadea, head of the syndicate, thought that the articles might have some appeal if Browder would open up and that he, accordingly, talked to Browder about doing 12 articles about the Communist situation; that he, Lasky, told Browder that he doubted Browder would want to go into his underground activities and that naturally he would be glad to have him do this if he would. Browder started out and has done several articles, some of which contain some rather interesting material, but the series as a whole, he thinks, is "stinking"; that Browder is a "dedicated Marxist s.o.b." and a queer one at that.

He stated that the articles written so far deal with Browder's contacts with Mao Tze Tung and Stalin. He did one article on McCarthy and his travails and one article was aimed at the FBI, wherein Browder states that the FBI and Bill Foster were in cahoots to keep him out of the Communist Party. Lasky said when he saw this article, which was sent to a few editors while he was away, he very promptly had the article recalled because it was too improbable and anyway he was not going to be disseminating any attacks on the FBI by a Communist. He stated he would also send me this one.

Lasky stated that O. John Rogge is acting as Browder's business agent; that Browder is very hard up financially and needs the money. Lasky further stated that he is going to have a session with Browder early in the week; that several of the articles will have to be rewritten because in reading them one gets the impression that Browder is making a play to the Communists to take him back and that he, Lasky, is not going to stand for that. Lasky stated he would get together the articles that are already prepared and send them to me and also send me subsequent

cc: Mr. Ladd
 cc: Mr. Belmont

LBN:hmc

INDEXED-24

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33 JUN 7 1953

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EX. - 109

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

May 28, 1953

ones; that he, of course, assumed these would be for our personal information and would be considered as off the record. I told him definitely this would be the case.

Lasky stated that he has not forgotten his conversation with me some months ago wherein he wanted to do an article dealing with Communist smears on the FBI. He wondered if this was much of a problem. I told him that the Communists had been kept pretty busy with Congressional Committees, Smith Act cases and the like; that if I could judge developments it would appear that there are some very subtle attempts underfoot on the part of fellow travelers, parlor pinks and pseudo-liberals to throw the hooks into the Bureau and that the article he had in mind was just as good today as it was before. At his request, I told him I would be glad to send him any material which came up from time to time.

I called Jack Carley and gave him a brief rundown confidentially and off the record.

✓

JBN
gm

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: June 17, 1953

FROM : V. P. Keady

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
40-3798

Tolson ✓
Ladd ✓
Nichols ✓
Belmont ✓
Clegg ✓
Glavin ✓
Harbo ✓
Rosen ✓
Tracy ✓
Mohr ✓
Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Holloman ✓
Sizoo ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

0-1724
7-15-53
TDR - JH
8/29/53

(PG. 1 C), PAGE 1
CONT'D PG. 2
PER OGA LTR 12-4-01

CLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1

Reference is made to my memorandum dated May 14, 1953, wherein I reported that [redacted] had furnished to Liaison Agent Papich on a [redacted] a copy of a report covering the results of an interview of Browder by [redacted] indicated that the document had been given to him by [redacted] It was further brought out that the interview of Browder had been instigated by Robert Morris of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. (S) (U)

On June 10, 1953, [redacted] advised Papich that [redacted] very recently accused him of "talking too much." [redacted] charged that [redacted] had violated a confidence in that he had disseminated the referenced document to some outsider. [redacted] based all of this on statements allegedly made to him by [redacted] who told [redacted] that Morris had come to him and wanted to know how come [redacted] had received a copy of the document. [redacted] told [redacted] that there had been only three copies of the document; one had been held by [redacted] one had been given to Morris, and the third had been given to [redacted] insisted that [redacted] undoubtedly had given the copy to [redacted] or to some other agency. [redacted] stated that [redacted] was highly alarmed and was very emphatic that if [redacted] ever double-crossed him, he would no longer have any dealings with him. [redacted] stated that he was confident that he had assured [redacted]

[redacted] advised the Liaison Agent that he only wished to call the above to the attention of the Bureau. He pointed out that at no time has he ever given [redacted] any indication that the information received from [redacted] is being transmitted to the Bureau. [redacted] hopes to continue the arrangement in this same manner. He stated that he has always respected and admired the Bureau for its reputation for protecting a confidence and handling sensitive matters with the utmost discretion. As far as he was concerned he was most confident that the Bureau did not inform Morris or anybody else outside of the Bureau that the document was in the possession of [redacted] (S) (U)

The Liaison Agent advised [redacted] that he could rest assured that when he furnishes information on a [redacted] such [redacted] (S) (U)

SJP:lw

63 JUL 7 1953
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

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INDEXED-14 JUN 22 1953

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confidence is always respected and that if it becomes necessary to disseminate the information outside of the Bureau, contact will be made with him. ~~(S)~~ (U)

ACTION:

None. For your information.

00

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: June 9, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: *Re Carl Browder**EARL BROWDER*

I recently learned that the Spadea Syndicate, 120 West 31st Street, New York 1, New York, has syndicated a series of articles by Earl Browder. I talked to Victor Lasky, the editor of Spadea, who told me the articles had to be rewritten and said he would send us a set of them. He also inquired whether we had seen their syndicated column "For The Record."

I told him that I was sure I had seen some, but not all. He, accordingly, sent me several which are attached. In addition, he sent the first Browder article entitled, "Why I Was Expelled from the Communist Party." The second article, "How the FBI Infiltrated the Communist Party" was complimentary to the FBI and Lasky killed it and the article is attached.

I have acknowledged this material personally.

cc - Mr. Jones

Attachments

LBN:ptm

Tolson
Ladd
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Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Gearty
Mohr
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
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Sizoo
Miss Gandy

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DATE 12/3/01 BY

INDEXED 93
RECORDED 93

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/3/01 BY

Contributors to FOR THE RECORD

AMORY, Cleveland	JOHNSON, Gerald W.
BERKELEY, Martin	KUHN, Irene Corbally
BURNHAM, James	LASKY, Victor
CALDWELL, John	LYONS, Eugene
CALDWELL, Taylor	MENJOU, Adolphe
CASEY, Robert J.	MICHENER, James
CHAMBERLAIN, John	MOATS, Alice-Leone
COBURN, Charles	MUHLEN, Norbert
DALY, John	REDMAN, Ben Ray
EASTMAN, Max	RYSKIND, Morrie
ERNST, Morris	SCHULBERG, Budd
FOWLER, Gene	SCHUYLER, George
GREEN, Abel	SINCLAIR, Upton
HANSEN, Harry	SPIVAK, Lawrence
HARTWELL, Dickson J.	STEINBERG, Julien
HICKS, Granville	TAYLOR, Henry J.
HIGH, Stanley	WANGER, Walter
HUNTER, Edward	WHITE, William L.
JANEWAY, Eliot	ZOLOTOW, Maurice

SPADEA SYNDICATE, INC.
120 West 31 Street, New York 1, N. Y.

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120 West 31st Street, New York 1, N.Y. • BRyant 9-8426

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DATE 9/3/01 BY [redacted]

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EARL BROWDER TALKS

Why I Was Expelled from the Communist Party

Article One

by Earl Browder

(Mr. Browder, as general secretary of the American Communist Party for 15 years, was its chief spokesman. In 1946, much to the surprise of outsiders, Mr. Browder was unceremoniously expelled from the Party. Since then, he has remained silent. In this, the first of 12 signed articles, appearing exclusively in this newspaper, Mr. Browder clears up some of the mystery surrounding his expulsion. In future articles, he will make his present position clear.)

In Prague, Czechoslovakia, the Communist regime recently put on trial a group of prominent officials removed from office only upon their arrest.

In the group were the Secretary of the Party for six years, Rudolf Slansky; the Foreign Minister and United Nations delegate, Vladimir Clementis; the editor of the chief newspaper Rude Pravo, André Simone, also known as Otto Katz. They were charged with treason.

All confessed, the most abject of all being André Simone. He begged the court to hang him for his unforgivable crime -- he had, he confessed, smuggled the ideas and books of Earl Browder into the Communist fatherland.

Some time earlier, in Budapest, Hungary, another and similar treason trial occurred, in which Government Minister Laszlo Rajk and several companions were convicted and hanged.

The evidence traced their "conspiracy against the state" from an alleged origin in two books by Earl Browder.

-more-

They confessed that American "secret agents" had provided the books "Teheran" and "Victory and After," in large numbers, that these books were translated into Italian and French, and that the Rajk group "held discussion classes around the ideas of Browder under the approving gaze of the American Legation." The quotation is from the official record.

About the time André Simone was being hanged at his own request, Washington ordered the arrest of Earl Browder and his wife as a requirement of American "national security." And Senator Joe McCarthy disclosed that a copy of the book, "Teheran," had been discovered in a State Department library. This, he said, was prima facie evidence of Red infiltration. The Senator seemed amazed when informed that the Communists were strongly opposed to Earl Browder.

Since the Earl Browder thus accused of subversion on both sides of the Iron Curtain is none other than myself, perhaps I owe some explanation to the public besides a formal plea of not guilty. Something is needed to clear up the confusion, which gets worse instead of better.

Confessions are a dime a dozen everywhere in the world nowadays, and no one believes them any more. I will avoid this rightly-suspect category, and will write mainly about facts in the record that anyone who wishes may verify for himself.

A simple examination of my own curious position might aid in throwing some light on the course of affairs in America and the world at large. Take my book, "Teheran," as a starting point. Behind the Iron Curtain, Communist officials are being hung for having read it and having been influenced by it. In Washington, officials are under attack for allowing it to be found on the shelves of a library.

How can this one book be dangerous to both sides in the cold war?

When "Teheran" was first published it was praised on all sides, much as it is now damned. It was on January 7, 1944, when I first made known the book's thesis in a report to the Communist Party's National Committee, of which I had been General Secretary for 15 years.

Endorsed unanimously, it was distributed throughout the world. The Communist press of all countries either reprinted or reviewed it with emphatic approval. From Algiers, the Communist member of the French Cabinet wrote me that it was "beautiful," and that the French Party was reprinting it.

At the same time, unless the Budapest court records are a tissue of lies, the U.S. government also approved the book so strongly that it published it in two languages, organized study groups around it in U.S. legations, and used it as an instrument of U.S. policy.

The currents of strong approval and ferocious condemnation that have swirled around this book all pivot on a single point.

Dealing with the Teheran Conference of 1943 and its declaration signed by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill, promising to banish the scourge of war for generations to come, my book asked and answered the following question:

Query: "Is Teheran merely another one of the interminable series of international conferences? Is the Declaration of Teheran merely another diplomatic document registering a momentary compromise between irreconcilably antagonistic powers?"

Answer: "The Declaration must be taken at its face value. It means what it says, and it does not mean anything else. Teheran represents a firm and growing COMMON INTEREST among the leaders who gathered there, their governments, the ruling classes they represent, and the peoples of the world."

Furthermore, I pointed out that the only alternative was the answer given by Hitler. On New Year's Day, Hitler had answered Teheran with the threat of destruction which would result in a disastrous social collapse and an economic catastrophe of unimaginable scope. He said that when his regime was gone, a third world war would come, either between the U.S. and Britain, or between these two and the Soviet Union.

"The only answer to Hitler," I wrote, "is the concord of Teheran, taken as a realistic program of action which can and will be realized with all its consequences." This was published in January, 1944, some four months before the Allied landing in France. As long as the war hung in the balance of battle, nothing but praise was uttered of my book.

But one year later the backbone of Hitler's armies had been broken from East and West. The end of the war was in sight. Then, and only then, appeared signs of a rift in the concord of Teheran. A few voices were raised among Communists expressing doubts about my book.

In May, 1945, a leader of the French Communist Party, Jacques Duclos, published a document denouncing my book in toto, from A to Z. Its key point was its flat rejection of the Teheran Declaration as nothing more than "a document of a diplomatic character." It foresaw nothing in East-West relations better than a cold war.

My associates in leading Party posts interpreted the Duclos article as the voice of the Russian Communist leadership. They turned against me and my policy, hitherto unanimously accepted.

When I refused to approve of their right-about-face, I was removed from leadership. Then I was expelled from the Party. I warned the Party, the labor movement and the entire country that the new Communist policy was unsound, would result in disasters, and should be repudiated.

Since then I have attempted to live the life of a private citizen. I have been a member of no political organization. All controversies around my name, therefore, refer to my book "Teheran" and to my 15 years previously spent as spokesman for the Communist Party.

-more-

With Hitler out of the way, the menace which had welded Allied-Soviet unity at Teheran during the war disappeared. On both sides it was assumed that the Teheran concord was no longer important. That is why both sides, which had praised my book while the war still hung in the balance, sneered at it and rejected it as soon as the Nazis were defeated.

End of Article One

World Copyright, Spadea Syndicate, 1953

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BROWDER TALKS!

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Article Two

Cancelled

How the FBI Infiltrated the Communist Party!

by Earl Browder

(In this, the second of twelve revelatory articles appearing exclusively in this newspaper, Mr. Browder, former head of the American Communist Party, raises the intriguing question of whether the FBI had a hand in his ouster from the Party.)

The publication of an article in a little-known French Communist magazine in 1945 touched off a major upheaval and change of policy in the American Communist Party.

It also led to my expulsion from the Party which I had served as General Secretary and spokesman for 15 years. The leading position was taken over by William Z. Foster, assisted by Eugene Dennis, Benjamin Davis, Henry Winston, Robert Thompson, John Williamson and others.

All, with the exception of Foster, have been since convicted of "conspiracy to advocate" the violent overthrow of the Government.

A highlight of the lengthy trial was the introduction as evidence of the French article (often spoken of as "the Duclos letter"), which became the center of both prosecution and defense. Its ostensible author was Jacques Duclos, a French Communist Party leader.

-more-

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DATE 12/13/91 BY

It was more than a simple article. It was understood to indicate a "new line" to American Communists to meet the situation of the ending of the war. It repudiated my interpretation of the Teheran Conference. By implication, it denounced the whole policy followed by American Communists for ten years under my leadership.

Remember that World War II was nearing its end, and that already there were signs of discord between East and West.

It was generally understood, without any direct evidence, that Duclos, in signing the article, had acted on behalf of the Russian Communist leadership.

But it is highly likely that Duclos did not write the document he signed. Evidence of this is found in his later public remarks, indicating that he was not familiar with its contents, as well as in its stiff un-Parisian French, quite unlike the well-known Duclos style.

Presumably the document was written in Moscow. But this is by no means the whole story.

There is some rather weighty evidence that the upheaval and right-about-face in the Communist Party, and my expulsion, was brought about by a united front between Jacques Duclos and J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and their respective agents.

Whether this united front was an accidental coincidence of aims, or whether it was planned, I have not as yet been able to determine, on evidence now available. But that some sort of united front existed is beyond doubt.

This was disclosed, perhaps inadvertently, by the FBI informant, Herbert Philbrick, in his book "I Lived Three Lives." There he tells how, as a member of a youth group influenced by Communists, he made contact with the FBI and how, under FBI instructions, he joined the Party precisely at the moment I announced the policy contained in my book "Teheran."

This policy meant working for peaceful co-existence of the Communist and capitalist systems; and integrating American Communists in the democratic tradition and in the labor movement.

Philbrick's first act as a Party member was to challenge this policy of "Browderism" as "a betrayal of the revolution" at a time my fellow Communists were unanimously approving it, as were Communists throughout the world.

Philbrick tells with considerable and understandable pride that when the Duclos article was published 16 months later, his prestige as a Communist was raised so high that, in his own words, "it moved me from the perimeter toward the epicenter of conspiracy where I was in a better position to keep track of events for the FBI."

Various explanations are possible for this strange concurrence of events.

Did the FBI originate the movement against "Browderism," thereafter selling it to the Communists, both American and Russian?

Or did the FBI take the cue from William Z. Foster, who then was mustering opposition to me in secret, though probably no secret from the FBI?

Or did J. Edgar Hoover merely shoot an arrow into the air, on pure inspiration, only accidentally hitting a bird in the heart?

The last version of what might have launched the drive against "Browderism" is the least probable of the three, but any one is possible.

The indisputable fact remains that Philbrick, acting under FBI instructions, initiated the movement against "Browderism" and "for more revolutionary policies" a full year before there was the slightest sign of any such ideas from abroad.

Philbrick went into action at a time when the French Communists praised my policies, presumably with Moscow's approval, and when W. Z. Foster was abjectly recanting his secret opposition in the National Committee on the advice of Georgi Dimitroff, who had headed the Comintern.

At first Philbrick received no support for his "revolutionary" position;
so he retreated. But when the Duclos article appeared, Philbrick and his fellow
FBI agents in the Party swung into line behind the Frenchman as one man. The
united front between the FBI men and Duclos' followers swept the field.

In the crusade that followed, the FBI agents came into their own, seizing strategic posts in the Party apparatus, the "epicenter" of later Party developments.

It is interesting to recall, in this connection, an earlier incident of police intervention in deciding Communist policy.

In 1922, an underground Party convention was held in Bridgeman, Michigan, at a summer resort on the lakes. A government agent named Morrow, who was posing as a leading "Communist" delegate from Philadelphia, cast the deciding vote against dissolving the illegal party and entering the open political scene as a legal organization.

Undoubtedly there are many more agents like Philbrick securely ensconced
in the remnants of the Communist Party, and perhaps even running its organizational
department, as was the situation in 1922.

They won their spurs in the "fight against Browderism" and their names will not be known until the Department of Justice considers them "expendable" as witnesses.

Among them are probably some "double agents" -- spies who serve two masters at the same time impartially, who act as two-way channels of information, who plant evidence on both sides, spreading suspicion and fear everywhere to stimulate appropriations and thus obtain more work and greater rewards.

During my 15 years at the head of the Communist Party I was able to steril-
ize the activities of the spy-provocateurs by making the Party completely legal,
and by sweeping out all the cobwebs of conspiracy constantly being spun by crackpots and romantic souls who frequently drift into Left-wing movements. That is, I made
sure such spies had a minimum to work on.

--more--

Of course, I knew that secret agents were at work around me, and even in my own office, although I could not identify them.

For example, in the spring or early summer of 1943 I sent a copy of a Party document to President Roosevelt in advance of publication, solely for his information.

It was a refutation of a press report charging that I was engineering a campaign to drive Secretary of State Cordell Hull out of office. On the contrary, I informed the President, I considered Hull the man best fitted for the post.

Roosevelt told my messenger to thank me for my courtesy. However, he added, it was really unnecessary since he had received a copy of the document from the FBI, just the day before -- a few hours after it was written.

The closest I came to learning the identity of the FBI man operating at Communist National Headquarters was to get his code number.

But in general I didn't worry much about FBI men -- until they teamed up with Jacques Duclos and his followers.

End of Article Two

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FOR THE RECORD

For Release: Thursday, May 14, 1953

McCARTHY DENIES PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS!

An Exclusive Interview

by James Burnham

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(Mr. Burnham, author of the just-published "Containment or Liberation?", lectures regularly at the Air War College, The Naval War College and the National War College.)

Does Senator Joe McCarthy want to be President?

I can remember when such a wish was thought to be ^(a)normal and even commendable feeling for up-and-coming Americans.

But now, I gather from the shrill tones of the anti-McCarthy brotherhood that it is judged the blackest in the black list of the Wisconsin Senator's crimes.

However, the question is not without public interest.

The most natural, though largely unexplored, source for the answer would seem to be the Senator himself. I therefore asked him, and he replied with speed and plainness:

"I have no wish or ambition whatsoever to be President."

Emphasizing that this did not mean he was ready for the showers, the Senator continued:

"I hope to stay in the Senate, and I think that the people of Wisconsin will see that I do. The longer I've been in Washington, the more respect I have for our system of government.

-more-

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"I think that many of our people and even many Senators themselves don't realize how much a Senator can do to help — or hurt — his country.

"If he has the people of his State behind him, nothing can stop a Senator. There is a rapid turnover in the Senate, and even a young man soon gets a seniority that puts him in a powerful position as Chairman of a Committee or Subcommittee. Over the long haul, a Senator can sometimes do more than most Presidents. Don't forget that a Senator can serve as much as fifty years, but a President no more than eight."

I asked who was spreading the story that McCarthy wanted to be President, and why.

"This idea is being built up solely by my most bitter enemies," the Senator replied. "The more a columnist or editor dislikes me, the more he talks about my aiming to be President.

"You'll find it in the columns of men like Lowell Mellett, Drew Pearson and the Alsop brothers, in editorials in The Washington Post, The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, The New York Post, etc., not to speak of The Daily Worker.

"When they bring up this story that I want to be President, these people are trying to do two things.

"First, they want to create a diversion and to keep the public's attention away from the results of our investigations.

"Second, they want to split the Republican Party, so that the old Truman-Acheson-Stevenson wing of the Democrats can win the next election. The loudest anti-McCarthyites are the left-wing Stevenson supporters and a few overnight Republicans who would like to jump back to their old camp."

Was this tactic going to succeed? Would the Republican Party split?

"The Republican Party is not going to split. There are undoubtedly going to be disputes, and sometimes sharp divisions, as in the Bohlen case.

"This is all to the good, and makes for a healthy, vigorous organization. A rubber-stamp party is the worst kind of party, and a rubber-stamp Congress is the worst kind of Congress. That is the opposite of democracy."

Who, then, was going to be the Republican candidate in 1956, if McCarthy was out?

"There are lots of fine candidates in the Party," he answered, "in the Senate and the House, for example, or among the State governors.

"But to my mind Eisenhower will be nominated again in 1956. He is more popular than ever with the people. There have naturally been some difficulties in getting the new Administration going, after 20 years of the other Party.

"But on the whole Eisenhower is doing a good job, and there is no reason why he will not be re-elected."

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For The Record

Justice Black 'Greets' Top Red Legal Front

(Mr. Lasky is perhaps best known as the co-author of "Seeds of Treason," the best-selling book on the Alger Hiss case. His anti-Communist film, "The Hoaxers," recently was nominated for an Academy award as the year's best documentary.)

By VICTOR LASKY

Recently Associate Justice Hugo L. Black of the United States Supreme Court sent a message of greetings to the annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild.

Theoretically, there should have been nothing startling about that. What would be more natural than having a representative of the nation's highest court greet a lawyers' group?

However, the guild happens to be the Communist Party's chief weapon in the legal field.

In 1950 FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover cited the guild as an "amazing" example of Red infiltration among lawyers. That same year the House Un-American Activities Committee disclosed the Red origins of the guild.

The guild is the successor of a long line of Communist fronts—American and international—in the field of law.

THE FIRST, the International Red Aid, was set up in 1922, followed in 1931 by the International Judicial Association. The current world-wide outfit, something called the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, has expelled Yugoslav members on

grounds they are "Tito-fascists."

The National Lawyers' Guild is the American branch of this so-called International.

Guild members show up in court whenever there is a case involving a Communist, a fellow-traveler or a Soviet agent. They invariably represent the "unfriendly witnesses" before congressional committees. They are always on hand to offer lengthy technical arguments about the unconstitutionality of anti-Red laws.

Yet Justice Black sent his greetings to this group. As did Presiding Justice David W. Peck of the New York Supreme Court. Still other eminent jurists addressed the convention.

Another who greeted the convention was Harold Crane, field counsel for Walter Reuther's CIO Auto Workers' Union. Mr. Reuther, the CIO president, is, of course, anti-Communist.

AS WAS EXPECTED, the guild's resolution followed the Communist line. They protested against the "tyrannical and unwarranted prosecutions and inquisitions" of those who, on grounds of self-incrimination, refuse to answer questions on Communist membership. They vowed to fight the government's security program.

While the guild couldn't rush into print fast enough defending the rights of Communists, the convention tabled a resolution condemning Soviet anti-Semitism.

A backer of that resolution was O. John Rogge, a former U.S. assistant attorney general and a member of the guild's executive board.

When the guild pigeonholed the anti-Communist resolution, Mr. Rogge resigned.

Usually, the guild has tried to conceal the party line in its official statements. It describes itself as "a professional organization which shall function as an effective social force in the service of the people to the end that human rights shall be regarded as more sacred than property rights."

But the guild has never shown much concern about the human rights of the millions of Russians in slave labor camps.

THE GUILD WAS organized in 1937 at a Washington convention with great fanfare on how it aimed to combat the "reactionary" bar associations. Its charter members included Charles Recht, attorney for the Soviet government, and Joseph Brodsky, the Communist party counsel. Others were John Abt, Lee Pressman and Nathan Witt, named by Whitaker Chambers as members of a Soviet underground ring. Despite this, the guild was able to rope in a large number of prominent lawyers. Many of them quit in disgust during the Soviet-Nazi pact.

In fact, so many lawyers were quitting that, to keep the guild intact, the Communists permitted passage of a few mildly critical anti-Soviet resolutions.

The guild, thereafter, was able to function more effectively, while other Communist fronts dropped by the wayside, because it usually tried to keep the comrades well hidden.

GUILD PRESIDENTS have been men like Robert Kenny, once a power among California Democrats; Thomas Emerson, a professor at Yale Law School; and Clifford Durr, former Federal Communications Commissioner.

These men could hardly be called anti-Communist.

Interestingly enough, Clifford Durr is related to Justice Black by marriage. They married sisters.

Another sidelight is that Justice Black's colleague, Justice Robert H. Jackson, was once a guild member. But Justice Jackson resigned in 1939.

The guild is supported financially by a number of familiar Communist sources of money. Ben Gold's Fur Workers Union, for example, turned over \$3,000 in one year alone. The United Electrical Workers, another Red stronghold, has made heavy contributions. So has Frederick Vanderbilt Field, the millionaire Red.

But in the opinion of a lot of people who know the National Lawyers Guild well, the Communists are getting their money's worth.

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The Weather

Cloudy this morning and clearing in the afternoon. Little change in temperature, highest in low 50's.

The Harvard Crimson

VOL. CXXX. No. 56

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1953

FIVE CENTS

Laski, Ciardi Tangle Over Limits on Free Expression



VICTOR LASKI

By WILLIAM W. BARTLEY, III

In speeches punctuated with invective, references to L'il Abner, and boos and cheers from the audience, John Ciardi, Briggs-Copeland Assistant Professor of English Composition, tangled with the "treason-beat" New York reporter and writer, Victor Laski, at last night's Law Forum on "Limitations on Free Expression?"

Meanwhile, Oscar Handlin, associate professor of History, remained in the middle and moderator Al Capp sat laughing.

The speakers agreed on one point: free expression should not be limited. But none could agree just what free expression and limitation are.

Ciardi, who opened the forum at the New Lecture Hall, said that present limitations on free expression are forcing orthodoxy to be established in the schools. This is making students "too damn dull and respectable," he commented.

Ciardi stated that progress in art, scholarship, and other forms of free expression is dulled when a spirit of orthodoxy is prevalent.

He hit the present investigations of faculty professors. He said, "I seriously doubt that committee members are wholly disinterested patriots. Their desire to cash in with television and publicity makes them suspect." Ciardi said that if he were questioned, he would reply, "I refuse to answer, not on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment, but because I believe this committee is contemptible, and I am bound as a citizen of the United States to hold it in contempt."

Laski argued that if intellectuals did not "kick" about previous investigations, when business men, "the real backbone of this country," were being probed, and when "Costello was unfairly tried by Kefauver in New York," they had no right to talk about the present investigations.

Laski said that professors, by their conduct in investigations, show that they do not really want to express themselves, but to keep silent.

When Laski was booed by the audience, he said, "Now don't boo me. I know you disagree with me, but I believe in freedom of expression, and I wouldn't boo you."

Handlin, who agreed with Ciardi on the danger of orthodoxy in education, disagreed with his reason for this danger. He said, "As liberals, our role is primarily defensive. But we have not been clear as to what we ourselves have been unclear about and have been struggling for."

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THE WEATHER

FAIR AND COLD TONIGHT. TOMORROW
INCREASING CLOUDINESS AND MILD-
ER IN THE AFTERNOON.

Temp. Today 8 a. m. 23°; 3 p. m. 38°
(Weather Map and Full Details on Page 4)

JOURNAL-EVERY 1



FULL SERVICE OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, UNITED PRESS, AND INTERNA

Vol. 21 No. 57

Evening Journal Founded 1888
Every Evening Founded 1871

Evening Journal and Every Evening
Consolidated Jan. 2, 1923

Wilmington, Delaware, Monday, March 9,

STALIN'S BODY LAID

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Malenkov Says Peace W

Ten Star Extra

Memo to the Ford Foundation

By Victor Lasky

(Victor Lasky is perhaps best known as the co-author of "Seeds of Treason," the best-selling book on the Alger Hiss case. At present he is working on a biography of Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower.)

A STRIKING phenomenon of our times is the way liberals (if you'll excuse the expression) leap to the defense of accused subversives. No such phenomenon took place during World War II.

Ten Star

(Continued From Page One)

Soviet stooge. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt will denounce Miss Bentley as an "obvious neurotic." And The New Yorker, which gained eminence because of jokes, will publish a lengthy article picturing William Remington as a "victim of hysteria."

Believing that this state of mind well bears investigation, perhaps including a psychiatric evaluation, I outlined such a project to the Ford Foundation, which is spending millions to uplift humanity. I proposed that the Alger Hiss case and its repercussions among liberals be thoroughly explored. In the interests of such an investigation, I proposed to turn over the vast correspondence I have carried on with friends of the former State Department of-

when a group of Fascist crackpots and anti-Semites was brought to trial for conspiring to aid Nazi Germany.

But when an Alger Hiss, a Lauchlin Currie, a William Remington, or even an Owen Lattimore, is named as having aided the Soviet underground, a caterwaul of protest arises from such incongruous places as the Daily Worker and the New York Times.

Dean Acheson will trot over to Capitol Hill to protest Elizabeth Bentley's characterization of his "good friend," Lauchlin Currie, the former White House aide, as a pro-

See TEN STAR—Page 15, Col. 3



Victor Lasky

For example, for several years I have been corresponding with Mrs. Roosevelt. Her most recent letter, dated October 9, 1952, reads as follows:

"I never stood by Mr. Hiss because I did not know him well enough and when a jury has spoken, one accepts its verdict until it is reversed. I have always disliked the adult ex-Communists and Chambers does not inspire either admiration or respect."

There are several remarkable things about this letter. First, Mrs. Roosevelt claims she never knew Hiss well enough and never stood by him. The record, unfortunately, shows otherwise. Then, Mrs. Roosevelt seemingly accepts the jury verdict—it took her a long time to do so—but apparently she expects the verdict to be reversed. So, actually, she hedging on her full acceptance of the verdict.

Mrs. Roosevelt further states that she "always disliked the adult ex-Communists," apparently under the impression there's a difference between adult and minor ex-Communists. Which is understandable considering Mrs. Roosevelt's past patronage of Red youth fronts.

Finally, a minor note: Jailbird Hiss is referred to as "Mr. Hiss," which Chambers, who "does not inspire either admiration or respect," does not rate a "mister."

Unlike Mrs. Roosevelt, the United Nations' Dr. Ralph Bunche refuses, even today, to discuss the jury verdict. On August 19, 1948, soon after Whittaker Chambers first testified, Bunche wrote Hiss he was "stunned, by this utterly shameless attempt to smear your good name."

"Though you have been grievously wronged I have full confidence in your complete vindication," Dr. Bunche continued. "The gallant fight you are making is on behalf of that integrity and reputation of every decent American . . . I want you to know that I am in your corner."

Asked whether he would send that same letter today, Dr. Bunche replied, "I have no intention of making any statement whatsoever on any aspect of the Hiss case."

This was some of the documentation I offered to send to the Ford Foundation. But, perhaps the foundation's officials were too busy spending Mr. Ford's fortune to invest in a three-cent stamp. At this writing—four months after I wrote them—I have not received any reply from Pasadena.

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She Read It in the Papers

By VICTOR LASKY

Though Eleanor frowned on "smearing good people like . . . Alger Hiss," it took six weeks to drag from her a grudging retraction of her smear of Louis Budenz.

This is a story involving Louis F. Budenz, the former Communist, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who dislikes former Communists over twenty-five years of age.

But before you jump to conclusions, Louis Budenz did not smear Mrs. Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt smeared Louis Budenz. And it took six weeks before she retracted the smear.

Yet, no editorials appeared in the anti-anti-Communist press denouncing Mrs. Roosevelt, such as greeted Chairman Harold Velde of the House Un-American Activities Committee, when he leveled an unfortunate accusation against Mrs. Eugene Meyer. But Mr. Velde made amends. And it didn't take him six weeks to do so.

Now, as we all know, the former First Lady deplores "smearing." Whenever one of her friends is identified as an alleged Soviet agent, she waxes really bitter. For example, shortly after Whittaker Chambers identified Alger Hiss as an underground Red, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote: "Smearing good people like Lauchlin Currie, Alger Hiss, and others is, I think, unforgivable. . . . Anyone knowing either Mr. Currie or Mr. Hiss, who are two people I happen to know fairly well, would not need any denial on their part to know they are not Communists."

It took some time for Mrs. Roosevelt to seemingly accept the jury verdict in the Hiss case; but she has never quite forgiven Whittaker Chambers. In a speech at Columbia University last February, she declared: "I don't like Whittaker Chambers."

In that same speech, Mrs. Roosevelt also assailed Louis Budenz as an ex-Communist whose reliability she questions. Her own reliability seemed more in question to those who knew how reluctant she had been to retract a false statement she had made about Budenz. The false statement appeared in her nationally syndicated column on January 10, 1953:

"As I said good-by to my friends Mr. and Mrs. [Clarence] Pickett. . . I could not help remembering that I had read the other day that Louis Budenz, the reformed ex-Communist, had recently named Mr. Pickett and Earl Harrison, among others, as Communists. I have often felt in similar incidents . . . that because I did not actually know [the people concerned] I could not say what I thought of such accusations. In this case I have known Mr. Harrison . . . through his work, and have worked closely with Mr. Pickett for years.

"Mr. Pickett not only is not a Communist, but he is one of the best and the finest type of citizens that any country could possibly have. If we are going to begin to smear the type of people we should look up to and be proud of, then I think the time has come for those of us who love our country to state what we know in the hope that there will be greater care exercised by those people who are prone to make such rash statements."

Rash-Statement Repercussions

Now it so happened that Louis Budenz had never named Messrs. Pickett and Harrison as Communists.

"As a matter of fact," Mr. Budenz wrote to the *World-Telegram and Sun*, which had carried the column in New York, "I have never been asked by any agency of any kind in regard to any Communist associations allegedly connected with these gentlemen, and have never discussed either one of them on any occasion."

Shortly afterward, Forrest E. Corson, a prominent Long Island civic leader, wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt asking her for the source of her charge against Mr. Budenz. He suggested that she retract her statement if she had no proof.

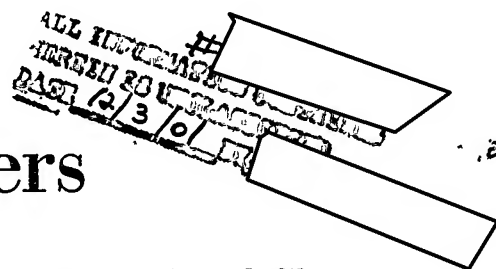
"Otherwise," Mr. Corson concluded, "you can be judged guilty of the same crime of which you accuse others—making 'rash' statements."

Mrs. Roosevelt did not reply, and Corson wrote to the executive editor of the *World-Telegram and Sun*, suggesting that Mrs. Roosevelt be requested "either to prove her 'rash statement' about Budenz's alleged rash statements, or correct it in one of her daily columns."

On February 16, Mrs. Roosevelt finally wrote to Mr. Corson:

"I cannot remember now in what newspaper I read the statement that Mr. Budenz had named Mr. Clarence Pickett and Mr. Earl Harrison as Communists. I usually read four papers every day and the same ones—the *New York Times*, the *Herald-Tribune*, the *World-Telegram and Sun*, and the *New York Post*. I have traveled considerably and it may have been in a paper somewhere else. When I was in Chicago I read the *Chicago Tribune*.

"The fact that I am sure I read it in a newspaper does not, of course, mean that Mr. Budenz said it and perhaps I should have said that I took my in-



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the Montan products. Most countries have indeed reached a state of perfection in applying such veiled restrictions. Perhaps one can ignore these difficulties, since the "common market" in Montan products has become the symbol of European economic integration, and the "High Authority" will probably do everything to keep this market open in spite of difficulties in the payment balance and restrictions on foreign exchange. But this means that as long as there is no true integration of Europe's economy, European trade in one branch of industry will be treated *as though* there were no difficulties in currency exchange or the balance of payments.

No Guarantee of Integration

The result of such a policy of appearances is obvious. As long as the European countries cling to an internal credit and budget policy and a foreign exchange control (with its unrealistic exchange rates) which pushes this or that country arbitrarily on to the debit side of the European Payments Union, and as long as they regard the quantitative regulation of exports and imports as the main way to obtain a payment balance, the permanent liberation of one economic branch will have to be paid for with a corresponding decrease in the liberalization of another. Somewhere the balance will have to be restored.

This effect will only be mitigated to the degree to which a true integration of Europe's economy is realized. But if this should happen we wouldn't need the Schuman plan. It can only function without major disturbances if the true integration of Europe's economy progresses along the lines we have outlined. The hope of reaching by way of the Schuman plan a genuine European economic integration (in the sense of a multilateral community of markets and prices, which is obtainable only on the basis of a free convertibility of currencies) shows a definite lack of realistic thinking.

The so-called "functional" integration along the lines of the Schuman plan is based on an amazing confusion. Only an "integral" integration could accomplish this—and that would be worth celebrating with fireworks and champagne. There is, however, a hope that perhaps the governments, since they have already embarked upon the Schuman plan, may realize that it cannot function without an "integral" integration; and this may spur their efforts in that direction. In that case, the Schuman plan, in spite of its inherent dangers, might still turn out to be a shock therapy in overcoming European disintegration.

There is one other point. Monetary autonomy for European countries not only means that these countries achieve their balance of payments by controlling foreign exchange, but also that they provide police protection for an unreal rate of currency exchange. Now the creation of a common

market for the steel and coal industries of France and Western Germany has as its prime objective the laudable goal of fostering true competition between the participating industries, their establishing the best possible distribution of production centers on the basis of differences in production costs. But how can an economically efficient international division of labor be accomplished when unreal relations between different currencies falsify the cost-basis, and when it remains possible to shift the foundations of a competition based on cost alone by manipulating the currency?

A common market, in which only the performance of competitors is measured, necessitates a system of solid and economically sound currency relations, which, like the old gold standard, practically establishes a uniform international monetary system. Such a system, however, can only be established on the basis of free convertibility of currencies, for only a free market can establish sound currency relations.

It is therefore safe to assume that the attempt to create a common market before such an international monetary system has been established will but lead to another collision between appearances and realities and cause immense problems.

If the Schuman plan has been recommended primarily for political reasons, the fact remains that this advantage has been paid for with economic dangers and problems; among which the last and not least is a tremendous concentration of power. Every good European must earnestly hope that, after all the praise the Schuman plan has received, it may not turn out to be the biggest fiasco of our time. But this hope can only be realized if we recognize clearly the problems just considered; if we tackle them energetically; and if we turn what are now the mere appearances of an economic integration of Europe into realities.

To a Lovely Lady of Another Nationality

You do not speak the language of my race,
Nor I the one your fathers loved so well.
I can surmise, but I can never tell
What rich antiquity of charm and grace
Endowed the world with you. But I behold
Within your heavy-lidded dusky eyes
The lambent twilights of Hellenic skies
And all the splendor of a world grown old.

You do not speak in words your thoughts of me,
Yet in your warm lips' languid droop I know
Deep, promised love. Oh, let us prove it so;
Let the slow fusion of our bodies be
Our only speech. Let us with love define
My strange dark world to yours and yours to mine.

ANDERSON M. SCRUGGS

The Kansas Experiment

By L. D. McDONALD

The government flood-control program is costly, muddled, and ineffective, and we need to examine the alternative proposed by independent experts.

Less than two short years ago the waters of the Kansas River were rolling down that valley in the most destructive flood in the history of the state. Now the scars are nearly all gone. Rebuilt and re-finished buildings replace the weather-worn and obsolete ones of preflood days, giving those areas a new and proud look. Crops again flourish in the fields.

Today another flood is rolling down that same Kansas valley—a flood of bitter and too often ill-considered criticism, of dissension and strife over the proper solution to the flood problem. The flood of 1953 is not the result of rain but of what might be called the “Kansas Experiment.” It is too soon to estimate its magnitude, to weigh the damage and destruction or the benefits that may follow. It is not too soon to turn the tide into the channels of reason and to assure not only the people of the Kansas valley but the hilltop taxpayer of a bright future and a sensible answer to the flood problem.

What is this “Kansas Experiment”? Perhaps the best answer to that question is a modest news item of September 2, 1952, which stated:

An independent engineering study of the Kaw River basin was directed by Governor Edward F. Arn as a guide in further flood protection work. The Governor said an independent and impartial report is necessary to give the people of Kansas an objective and an unbiased answer, not influenced by rival federal agencies or by pressure groups.

The back-page location of the item perhaps reflects the taxpayers' lack of real interest in an unbiased review by competent engineers in private practice, or the vast spending program of our federal agencies. Governor Arn and the Kansas Industrial Development Commission demonstrated their sincere interest and the courage of their convictions, however, when they selected three prominent engineers—Abel Wolman of Baltimore, Louis Howson of Chicago, and N. T. Veach of Kansas City—to make the survey.

On February 16, 1953, these engineers submitted a preliminary report, which reviews the history of flood protection planning to date, particularly from the time of the 1936 Flood Control Act, which relegated responsibility for flood-control planning to the United States Army Corps of Engineers. The report outlines the Army's successive recommendations as they have to do with the Kansas River and as they were authorized by Congress. In 1936,

it states, levees were proposed for the urban areas of Kansas City, Lawrence, and Topeka at an estimated cost of less than \$15,000,000. Three reservoirs—Kanopolis, Milford, and Tuttle Creek—were added in 1938 to make the cost about \$70,000,000. In 1944, and again in 1950, the flood-control program was modified and enlarged until it included eighteen reservoirs and ten local protection (levee) projects, at an estimated cost of about \$400,000,000. It proposed to give a high degree of protection to 608,000 acres of farm land. The report notes that the Army and the Bureau of Reclamation now propose a plan to construct thirty-four reservoirs at an estimated cost of \$700,000,000. It states, however, that eighty-four additional reservoirs are being studied and that the entire program of the combined federal agencies may cost in excess of \$1,000,000,000.

Sound, Integrated Program Needed

“The situation may be described with some accuracy as being entirely ‘fluid,’” these engineers observe. “New structures are added, old ones are withdrawn, some are expanded, functional purposes are redesigned and multiplied, with the result that the board is unable to present in any effective manner exactly what the program of the various agencies are at this writing.”

Most ironical of all, however, in view of the vast increase over the original program, is this revealing statement:

Had all eighteen dams . . . been completed and operating as designed, the 1951 flood would have overtopped all urban levee protection works from Manhattan to the Missouri River by from one to three feet.

In other words, it is proposed to spend something like \$1,000,000,000 on a flood-control program which has been demonstrated to be wholly inadequate. Not unreasonably, the report of the board of engineers questions the economic soundness of spending such a sum; it recommends that, pending the final report—which will be submitted shortly—all construction and planning on flood-control reservoirs be halted until the taxpayer can stop, look, and listen.

The report suggests that the old-fashioned, perhaps long forgotten, measure of economic justification could be used to good advantage, and that the

formation from a newspaper. I simply said these names were included in some he mentioned.

"I do not think it was a rash statement to say that I had seen this, since Mr. Budenz has been somewhat free in his mentioning of names which he did not remember in his first statements. Evidently one is not able to accept what one reads in the newspapers as true."

To which Mr. Corson, still seeking a retraction, replied:

"Since Professor Budenz has denied that he ever mentioned Messrs. Pickett and Harrison, and since you furnish no proof beyond the recollection of something you read in some newspaper, might it not be in the interests of journalistic accuracy and fair play for you to inform your legion of readers of Mr. Budenz' grievance?"

"The 'rash statement' which you blamed on Professor Budenz was somebody else's 'rash statement,' but by reprinting it, you share responsibility for an offense of which you unjustly accuse Budenz."

"Mr. Budenz has a prodigious memory, as all who know him can attest. He has a memory for faces, facts, and intimate details—a memory which has made him such an excellent witness, able to withstand the blistering attacks of Communists' lawyers in cruel cross examination."

"Summoned, in every instance, by his Government to testify against the enemies of our country—open and concealed—he has answered on the witness stand only the questions asked him about specific persons. Mr. Budenz is a lawyer, too, and he has not been led into the traps baited for him by the Communists and set out by the anti-anti-Communists."

"It seems strange reasoning, indeed, which leads good, sincere Americans to join in the persecution of a reformed man who is trying to make honest amends for his treasonable past."

Strange Reasoning

"Our country needs the sincere ex-Communist because he alone knows the philosophy, the strategy and tactics of Communism, the personnel of the conspiracy which is aimed at the eventual destruction of all liberal thought and of all the freedoms."

"Communists who leave the party and who keep quiet are left alone. But just let one of them, in expiation of his sins against God and man, seek to expose an Alger Hiss, a Harry Dexter White, a Lauchlin Currie, a William Remington or an Owen Lattimore, and he is viciously attacked. He is smeared not only by the Communists, but by the sincere and the pseudo-liberals, as well."

"It just doesn't make sense, Mrs. Roosevelt. But it certainly does make the Communists very happy."

On February 24, 1953, six weeks after the original item appeared in her column, Mrs. Roosevelt admitted to her readers she had made an error:

"I have received a protest from Mr. Budenz who says that I falsely attributed to him a statement naming Mr. Clarence Pickett and Mr. Earl Harrison as Communists. I read in some newspaper, which I cannot now remember, that he had numbered them among others whom he has 'remembered' as being Communists. Since he now insists that he did not do so, I am delighted to learn through a friend of his that he would like a retraction from me. I take this to mean that he has no reservations about these two gentlemen. Nothing could give me greater pleasure since I thought it was becoming a little too much if we were asked to believe that these two men were Communists."

Grudging Admission of Error

It was a grudging admission of error, however. For in another letter to Mr. Corson, dated February 23, 1953, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote this telling explanation of it:

"I retracted my statement about Mr. Budenz in my column for publication February 24."

"However, I must differ with you on one point. You say: 'It seems strange reasoning, indeed, which leads good, sound Americans to join in the persecution of a reformed man who is trying to make honest amends for his treasonable past.' I have very little faith in the reform of a grown man who has been a Communist for a number of years. It is quite a different thing when youngsters between the ages of 16 and 25 join a Communist organization or one that develops into a Communist-dominated organization, for a short time, but when mature men allow their minds to be dominated for any length of time by the Communist Party, then there is something which does not make them reliable. . . ."

"I am not at all sure that the men you named are Communists and I doubt if some of them have been as dangerous to the U. S. A. as is the hysteria which Budenz and Chambers have brought about."

As far as Mrs. Roosevelt is concerned, then, ex-Communists like Budenz and Chambers are much more "dangerous" to the United States than traitors in high place like Alger Hiss. Perhaps this hatred of ex-Communists on the part of people like Mrs. Roosevelt is due to their own intimate flirtations with Communism in the past. They were wrong, horribly wrong, on the crucial issue of our times—the threat of Communism. They coddled the Communist youth, joined Red fronts, signed the petitions, invited Communists to the White House.

Instead of facing up to their mistakes, they have tried to forget the whole sorry business. It doesn't help them in this effort when they see former Communists frankly face up to their mistakes, and try to atone for them.

from

ENCL. E ENC. 2312
Victor Lasky

Spadea Syndicate, 120 West 31st Street, New York

F 2-1

Jon Nichols:

FBI

Dept of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Son:

The Browder
pieces will NOT
go into publication,
the way they're
written.
- Directed Mr. Tolson
6-9 A.M.

as ever,
Victor

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/3/01 BY

INDEXED - 93
RECORDED - 93

40-3798-667

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100

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: ✓

June 29, 1953

FROM : *Warren Olney*
Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General,
Criminal Division

WO:TKH:rir

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

146-1-11-350

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson b6
Mr. Ladd b7C
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

Reference is made to your memorandum dated June 2, 1953, relative to a series of interviews between the captioned subject and [redacted]. It is noted that you have attached a memorandum reflecting the results of these interviews. You inquire specifically as to our comments on this situation and also as to what, if any, effect these interviews may have upon the prosecution now pending against Browder.

As you are already aware, this Division is in complete accord with your position that the FBI is the proper agency to which Browder should make any disclosures. In an endeavor to effectuate this policy the Criminal Division made known to O. John Rogge, Mr. Browder's attorney, its views relative to this matter, with the understanding that if disclosures were to be made, such action should be undertaken in accordance therewith.

It is also the position of this Division that this situation and the implications which it contains will not affect the outcome of the prosecution now pending against Browder. J. Edward Lombard, United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, has been advised concerning the views of the Criminal Division in this matter.

G. I. R. -10

[redacted]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-3-01 BY [redacted]

RECORDED-35
EX-124

40-3796-668

1953

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842 OCT 5 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SECURITY INFORMATION

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC NEW YORK (100-4931) (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~) DATE: 7/3/53
FROM: SAC CHICAGO (100-2398)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
IS-C

12-15-82
Classified by [redacted]
Declassify on: [redacted]
6-21-84 21

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b7c

Earl Browder

Reference Chicago letter to Director, copies to New York dated June 2, 1953, entitled CP-USA, IS-C, setting forth a resume of information obtained by CG 5824-S while he was in New York from May 5 to May 19, 1953. (S)(u)

This letter is intended to set forth specific detailed information received from individuals in order to facilitate documentation and to attribute the resume information to proper sources. The information set out herein was orally furnished by the informant to SA CARL N. FREYMAN during the period May 22-June 12, 1953. (S)(u)

Most of the meetings reported herein were on a personal basis with no other persons present. Therefore all information reported herein must be carefully handled as to date and content in order to provide this high placed informant with maximum security. In instances where interviews are conducted with persons contacted by informant special care must be exercised not to use the material in a manner that might identify informant. (S)(u)

BETTY GANNETT (S)(u)

Informant saw BETTY GANNETT on two occasions in May, 1953. Meetings were held at the hospital where WILLIAM WEINER was confined and

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY
DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)

CNF:mkm
REGISTERED

DATE: 3-13-91
CN 57,063 Affected [redacted] - 316/91

40-3798-

- cc: New York
- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 100- CP Organization | 100- "STRETCH" JOHNSON (S)(u) |
| 100- CP Pamphlets and Publications | 35 |
| 100- WILLIAM WEINER (S)(u) | 100- SAM DON (S)(u) 1953 |
| 100- JIM TORMEY | 100- JACK KLEING (S)(u) |
| 100- HARRY YARRIS (S)(u) | 100- LEM HARRIS |
| 100- WILLIAM Z. FOSTER | 100- CP Confidential Mailing Addresses (S)(u) |
| 100- Progressive Party | 100- ISADORE WOFSEY |
| 100- CP Membership | 100- HARRY HAYWOOD (S)(u) |
| 100- HENRY WINSTON | 100- CP Negro Question |
| 100- CP Funds | 100- LEON JOSEPHSON |
| 100- ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN | 100- WILLIAM LAWRENCE (S)(u) |
| 100- HERBERT APTHEKER | 100- MARCEL SCHERER (S)(u) |
| 100- V. J. JEROME (S)(u) | 100- MARTIN YOUNG |

63 AUG 27 1953

cc - Bufile 40-3798) (Earl Browder)

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 61-7665-919

SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

100-Cominfil, American Labor Party
100-Cominfil Transport Workers Union
100- MIKE QUILL (S)(u)
100- BOB DUN (S)(u)
100- ROMANIA ISAACS, nee FERGUSON (S)(u)
100- Camp Unity (S)(u)
100- LOUIS PASTERNAK (S)(u)
100- JEREMIAH INGERSOLL
100- Mrs. JEREMIAH INGERSOLL
100- HOWARD BOLDT (S)(u)
100- ANN BOLDT
100- MILTON HOWARD
100- ROBERT HALL
100- BERNARD BERTON (S)(u)
100- MAC GORDON
100- Daily Worker
100- ALAN MAX (S)(u)
100- JOE CLARK
100- JOE STAROBIN
100- ABNER BERRY (S)(u)
100- EULIAH HICKS
100- WILLIAM DUNN
100- Cominfil-Radio and Television Industry
100- GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY
100- CP Cultural Activities
100- EARL JONES (S)(u)
100- Mrs. EARL JONES (S)(u)
100- LEON JOSEPHSON
100- EARL BROWDER
100- SY GERSON (S)(u)
100- AL LANNON
100- LENA SCHERER (S)(u)
100- NAT ROSS
100- VITO MARCANTONIO (S)(u)
100- JOE NORTH
100- PHILIP BONOSKY (S)(u)
100- SAMUEL SILLEN
100- HOWARD FAST
100- MILTON HELLER
100- _____, COHEN (FNU) employee at Prompt Press (S)
100- STANLEY LEVISON
100- ROY LEVISON

SECRET

SAC NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

RE: CP-USA

100- PAUL ROBESON

100- PHIL CABOT

1 - Philadelphia

Chicago

61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

(WILLIAM SENNETT)

(MOLLIE LIEBER WEST)

55 (CRC)

(AL WAGENKNECHT)

100-125

(~~S~~) (v)

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b7C
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~~SECRET~~

SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

~~SECRET~~
at the "Brass Rail", 40th and Park Avenue, New York. The information attributed to GANNETT in reference Chicago letter is not being repeated in its entirety. ~~(S)~~ (U)

GANNETT told informant that her husband, JIM TORMEY is the Queens Underground leader. She sees him occasionally. TORMEY's mother who is Catholic has been visited by the FBI and the visits had an effect on her. She wrote her son several "bad letters" and GANNETT is worried about TORMEY's mother's attitude. ~~(S)~~ (U)

GANNETT told informant that she and her brother, HARRY YARRIS, have been reconciled as a result of YARRIS' arrest by INS. She is worried because now her older brother, name not given, is being bothered by INS. According to GANNETT, the brother has nothing to do with the CP. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[CP Pamphlets and Publications] ~~(S)~~ (U)

GANNETT told informant that she has been loaded with work. Now in addition to other tasks she is reading articles for future issues of "Political Affairs". ~~(S)~~ (U)

GANNETT told informant that during the seven months she was on trial she was almost completely "isolated" from the underground leadership. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The "National Committee Election Resolution" was published as a complete surprise to both her and FOSTER. She described the Resolution as the work of the Underground Leaders and stated that the Underground Leadership makes all "Political and Organizational" decisions. ~~(S)~~ (U)

GANNETT was embarrassed by the publication of the Resolution because she at that time was lecturing at the Jefferson School on the subject of the "National Election" when the Resolution was issued without notice to either her or FOSTER. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Following the issuance of this document, the open leaders called for discussions with the underground leaders with the result that slight concessions were made to the open leadership. Hereafter, the underground leadership will on "political," but not necessarily on "organizational," matters notify and exchange ideas with the open leadership before publication of documents or other action is taken. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

REPRECUSIONS were had on the "National Elections Resolution" due to criticism in the document of leadership mistakes going back to 1948. The jailed leaders charged that they were being criticized for mistakes they were not in a position to make and also charged that the "line" they set out had been misinterpreted. The secondary leadership on the other hand was reluctant to accept criticism of misinterpretation of the directives of the original Party leadership. (S)(u)

As a result of the leadership refusal to accept responsibility, an amended resolution will appear in the June, 1953, issue of "Political Affairs" which will delete the reference to the year 1948 as the year when mistakes began in order not to "finger" anyone in leadership. (S)(u)

The amended resolution will confine itself to the sole issue of the "Results of the National Elections". It was felt that matters on the "International Situation" and other issues should be the subject of a separate FOSTER article on "peace". (S)(u)

The amended resolution will also omit the paragraphs on "contridictions in the bourgeoisie camp". It will also correct interpretations placed on the original resolution to the effect that the sole place for Communists to work "politically" now is in the Democratic Party under the "United Front" Program. The amended resolution will state that Communists can work "politically" with the ALP, the CIO, the A.F. of L. etc. on "coalition candidates." It will also correct the impression that the "Progressive Party" will be completely dissolved. (S)(u)

According to GANNETT, another decision has been made that hereafter the Party will not publish documents dealing with the weaknesses of the Party because leadership is convinced that such admissions are "used by the enemy" and are harmful to the "rank and file", morale. Hereafter, weaknesses will be discussed but will not appear for publication. (S)(u)

Evidence of Factionalism in Leadership of CP on
Political Matters

With regard to the political situation in the Party leadership, (S)(u)

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SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

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GANNETT said that at present, there is no unanimity in Party policy today in leadership in either the open or underground leadership of the Party. This is significant, according to informant because formerly even though there was violent discussion on issues of importance by individuals in leadership, once the matter came to a vote, those opposing the final majority decision always moved to make it a unanimous decision. Such is not the case today and while democratic centralism still prevails, the registered opposition votes of the minority stand. (S)(u)

[Factors Affecting Present Condition of the Party] (S)(u)

According to GANNETT, Party recruiting has been at a standstill in the last few years. Most of the Party recruits since 1946, have dropped from the Party. The Party leadership has grown old and the young leadership has not developed. No section leader today has been in the CP less than ten years. (S)(u)

[Need for Leadership Training] (S)(u)

GANNETT stated that the CADRE situation in the Party is almost critical and that ways and means must be devised for training cadres. (S)(u)

She said that the leadership crisis has been caused because of the necessity of placing so many leaders underground and also because some members have been detached for reserve leadership thus "isolating" them from assisting in the daily operations of the Party. The "Young leadership" now being used has organized the Party by "administrative and opportunistic" means and has kept many more experienced people out of leadership. She described their methods of operation as "Rule by Command." (S)(u)

Another factor contributing to the present situation in the Party is the delay that occurs from the time decisions are made until they reach the hands of people responsible for their execution. (S)(u)

At present, at best, it takes two months to reach these people. A "complete lack of initiative" on the part of members and leaders in the lower Party organization was also given as a reason for the present situation in the Party. As a result of this "lack of initiative" most of the Party decisions are not executed by (S)(u)

SAC NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

RE: CP-USA

those responsible. To correct this situation, GANNETT feels that the "isolated" and "reserve" leadership must, to some extent, become available as actual working parts of the organization and assist in the every day operations of the Party. (S)(u)

[Problems Arising from Security Precautions Taken by Party] (S)(u)

According to GANNETT, the biggest sub-division of the Party, i.e. region, section, and downward does not consist of more than forty people. This organizational setup has increased leadership problems because leadership is spread out. The result is that the big problem in the Party today is "how to educate a Party member" to work on his own. (S)(u)

To meet this problem, hereafter, every issue of "Political Affairs" will contain a "Self-Education Outline" with questions and answers on key documents issued by the Party and the U.S.S.R. This is intended to promote self-study and discussions among individual Party members. The outline for "Stalin's Economic Problems of Socialism" will appear in the near future. (S)(u)

In addition the Party is conducting a drive to find "old timers" and get them attached in order to get initiative in the Party. Some of the "younger" present leaders are being removed and relegated to less important positions. (S)(u)

[HENRY WINSTON] (S)(u)

On May 18, 1953, GANNETT while sitting in the "Brass Rail," 40th and Park Avenue, New York, looked up quite startled. When informant made inquiry she said, "Oh, I thought it was 'WINNIE' but it was not." Informant advised that he is unable to interpret this remark because he cannot reach a definite conclusion as to whether or not GANNETT knows where the Comfugs are. (S)(u)

He stated that he leans to the belief that GANNETT is one of the few who do know where the Comfugs are, and if this assumption is true, then her remark may be interpreted to mean that the Comfugs are not out of the country. (S)(u)

~~SECRET~~

SAC NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

RE: CP-USA

[CP Funds-Pamphlets and Publications] (S)(u)

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, according to GANNETT is now responsible for open Party finances although she was described as not being capable of such responsibilities. Finances of the Party are becoming increasingly more difficult and the same situation prevails in the "Daily Worker." (S)(u)

For the Stalin issue of "Political Affairs," 15,000 copies were printed but to date only 13,000 were sold. She asked the question, "who will pay for the remainder?" (S)(u)

HERBERT APTHEKER was identified by GANNETT as playing a big role in the editing of "Political Affairs" since V. J. JEROME has been otherwise occupied. (S)(u)

[Individuals in Party Underground] (S)(u)

BETTY GANNETT stated that "STRETCH" JOHNSON is still in the underground, but had been severely criticized because he had made a trip to Cleveland to visit his family in violation of security. He was described as one of the fellows who uses the "Negro Question" for all it is worth to promote himself. It was also stated that he was the one responsible for "framing" SAM DON out of the Party. (S)(u)

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, District 8, Underground Organizer, either visits New York or is seen by underground leaders at least every six weeks. The same applies to the Open District #8 leader not named (WILLIAM SENNETT). (S)(u)

MILLIE LIEBER WEST, wife of JIM WEST, former District #8 functionary presently underground, has been told to get out of the underground for security reasons because she insisted on adopting a baby. She was offered a job in the CRC in Chicago, but has refused to take the open assignment to date. (S)(u)

The wives of the underground leaders, whose husbands are not fugitives, are permitted to see their husbands once every four or five months. (S)(u)

~~SECRET~~

SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

[JACK KLING and PHIL BART] (S) (u) ~~SECRET~~

GANNETT indicated to informant that KLING and PHIL BART are occupying leading underground roles in the Midwest. (S) (u)

[ALFRED WAGENKNECHT] (S) (u)

GANNETT stated that the Party has told ALFRED WAGENKNECHT, District #8 functionary, that he is too old to operate underground. He takes the position that he is no longer considered important. if he is required to work in the open and refuses to come out. The comment was made that WAGENKNECHT is more in hiding by his own choosing than is he underground although he is on Party Assignment. (S) (u)

[LEM HARRIS] (S) (u)

HARRIS, according to informant, resides a few door from WILLIAM WEINER. He does leg work for WEINER and continues to do work in the CP National Farm Commission. HARRIS advised informant that in addition he is working with the Party Amnesty Committee. HARRIS also works closely with ISADORE WOFSEY, former District Organizer of Connecticut who now runs messages between WEINER and the Communist leadership and is considered by informant as a key person handling communications. (S) (u)

Informant also learned that HARRIS acts as a channel for pickups of letter drops for the National Office. (S) (u)

[HARRY HAYWOOD] (S) (u)

Informant learned from HAYWOOD that he is now a member of the National Negro Commission of the Party and is also the editor of the new "Negro Affairs Quarterly" published by the National Negro Commission. (S) (u)

He sees WILLIAM Z. FOSTER regularly, particularly since FOSTER began his book on the "History of the Negro in the U.S." As a result of his successful fight against the Party tactics on "White Chauvinism", HAYWOOD said that he now has the ear of most of the National leaders who are beginning to look to him for theoretical guidance on the "Negro Question." (S) (u)

SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

HAYWOOD when he works is employed as a waiter and makes over \$100 per week. (S)(u)

With regard to the strength of the Party in Harlem, HAYWOOD said that the Party has completely disintegrated and that there is neither leadership nor branches there. (S)(u)

Informant noted that HAYWOOD always carries a notebook with him and makes notes in the presence of others. He also noted that HAYWOOD talks considerably and asks questions which appear completely out of "line" in the Party in these days. (S)(u)

Reference Chicago letter pages 8-10 refers to a report of National Secretariat meetings held in May, 1953, on the Negro Question. This report according to informant was made at the residence of LEON JOSEPHSON by HAYWOOD in the presence of JOSEPHSON, WILLIAM LAWRENCE, MARCEL SCHERER and informant and the reporting of same must be handled with extreme caution. The details of this meeting are found in referenced Chicago letter. (S)(u)

[MARTIN YOUNG] (S)(u)

Informant learned from YOUNG that he is employed in Long Island as a salesman for the same firm that employed him before incarceration. His closest friend continues to be WILLIAM LAWRENCE. (S)(u)

He told informant that he has not been assigned to any Party tasks. He has on his own done A.L.P. work in his own neighborhood. He stated that the A.L.P. branches have disintegrated since the publication of the National Committee CP Resolution of December 28, 1952. (S)(u)

Concerning the situation in MIKE QUILL's Transport Workers Union, YOUNG told informant that QUILL is in a "bad spot," and the CP is responsible. He said that a "Christian Fronters Union" is organizing against him with the intention of taking over the Union. QUILL has been forced to use "United Front" tactics of coalition to stay in power and is trying to win over "progressive" forces. He still has Cardinal SPELLMAN backing his leadership, and but for SPELLMAN, the "Christian Fronters" would take over. (S)(u)

[BOD DUN] (S)(u)

Informant learned from DUN that he is still active in the publication "Labor Research." (S)(u)

SAC NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

RE: CP-USA

ROMANIA ISAACS nee FERGUSON, former wife of RAY HANSBROUGH

Informant learned from this individual that with the aid of BETTY GANNETT she had straightened out her Party difficulties which began last summer at Camp Unity. (S) (u)

She is now Assistant Manager of Camp Unity and works at its downtown office every day. She will work with LOUIS PASTERNAK, at the camp beginning about June 1. (S) (u)

JOE STACK, who formerly handled cultural work at Camp Unity has been fired. (S) (u)

BETTY GANNETT told informant during May, 1953, that the Party is now grooming ISAACS for "important work" because she is considered an intelligent and sensible person with Party experience. (u)

JEREMIAH INGERSOLL

Informant advised that INGERSOLL is presently living in Brooklyn in a nice home and appears prosperous. (S) (u)

Informant learned from INGERSOLL that he is in a new business with his brother in the Building Investment Field. For a time, the business made money but at the present he stands a good chance of losing a lot of money. (S) (u)

Informant was told by INGERSOLL that he is mainly active in a branch of the A.L.P. His wife is much more active than he is and is an official of the A.L.P. (S) (u)

Informant advised that neither INGERSOLL nor his wife have a good knowledge of what is presently happening in the CP. (S) (u)

The informant on June 1, 1953, furnished SA CARL N. FREYMAN with the following background information concerning INGERSOLL and his wife: The wife originally came from Montgomery, Alabama, and was from a religious family. She married INGERSOLL in the early 1930's and they lived in Chicago until about the end of the war. INGERSOLL joined the CP about the time he left college. (S) (u)

~~SECRET~~

SAC NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

RE: CP-USA

In the early 1930's, he worked closely with LEM HARRIS on Party Farm Work and together they organized Caravans to go into farm communities and speak with farmers in Illinois and Wisconsin. (S)(u)

In the 1930's, INGERSOLL was an organizer for the Steel Workers Union in Chicago and his wife MINEOLA was also a Steel Workers Union Organizer in the same period. Most of their activity in Chicago was of a kind that did not directly connect them with Party people. (S)(u)

INGERSOLL attended the University of Chicago in the early 1930's. He was a Captain in the Army during the war. The INGERSOLLS now have two children, who, for a time, were sent to a Quaker School, but they now attend Public Schools. (S)(u)

Informant was told that INGERSOLL's brother, name not recalled, is no longer in the CP. Informant stated that in his opinion both INGERSOLL and his wife still appear to be quite loyal to the CP. (S)(u)

[HOWARD and ANN BOLDT - Situation in "Daily Worker"] (S)(u)

HOWARD BOLDT told informant that he has been working on a week to week basis at the "Daily Worker" but his employment will terminate on June 1, when he will look for another job. ANN BOLDT has been sick and confined to a hospital. (S)(u)

According to BOLDT, the "Daily Worker" has had few Political or Editorial Staff meetings for some time. ALAN MAX is still the hardest worker on the paper and is probably the most important person on the Staff because the "further to the left" the paper goes, the better he likes it. (S)(u)

BOLDT said that ABNER BERRY is also one of the most important people and is playing a leading role on the paper. BERRY and EULIAH HICKS, a staff writer and follower of HARRY HAYWOOD, have recently had bitter words on the party line on the "Negro Question." (S)(u)

MILTON HOWARD is having a difficult time keeping the staff together and working as a unit. (S)(u)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

ROB HALL, former Washington Correspondent, now in New York, was in fact demoted by this transfer. However, the new Washington Correspondent BERNARD BERTON has not proved able to handle the assignment and HALL is doing some special assignment work in Washington. ~~(S)~~ (u)

MAC GORDON is in the Business Office of the "Daily Worker". He does some writing on the paper on matters pertaining to the New York District on political problems. ~~(S)~~ (u)

JOE CLARK has returned from his Moscow Assignment but JOW STAROBIN was instructed to remain in Europe a while longer so that the "Daily Worker" would not be without a correspondent there, according to BOLDT. ~~(S)~~ (u)

BOLDT told informant that WILLIAM DUNN is out of the CP and is employed in New York as a cook. He has cancer. ~~(S)~~ (u)

WILLIAM LAWRENCE ~~(S)~~ (u)

Informant was told by LAWRENCE that he is now in charge of the Cultural Division of the New York District of the CP. ~~(S)~~ (u)

When the party approached him to take the assignment he accepted on the condition that he could have free time to be with his children. The Party asked LAWRENCE to become one of the "unavaiables" but he refused this assignment because of his children. He did, however, on party orders, disappear prior to the recently held Senate Investigation of the Cultural group in New York to avoid subpoena. When he appeared after two weeks, the Party disagreed with LAWRENCE about his appearing in the open after being told to be "unavailable" but was not censored. ~~(S)~~ (u)

LAWRENCE said that he worked closely with the Cultural group that was under subpoena in connection with the Senate hearings and spoke with most of the individuals subpoenaed and rehearsed with them. The day before LIONEL STANDER was scheduled to testify, the Party was certain that he would not stand up under examination. ~~(S)~~ (u)

In preparing for the Senate hearings LAWRENCE spent weeks with the CP people. During this period, the Cultural Group had no direct ~~(S)~~ (u)

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SAC NEW YORK

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RE: CP-USA

contact with either the New York District or National CP leadership who were engaged in routine Party business. ~~(S)~~(u)

LAWRENCE recently had a meeting with GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY who asked LAWRENCE to become a member of the New York District Board of the Party. He was scheduled to again meet CHARNEY on May 15, 1953, to give him an answer and as of the date of contact by informant, LAWRENCE had not yet made up his mind. ~~(S)~~(u)

In discussing his duties and problems in the Cultural Division of the New York District, LAWRENCE told informant that when he took over the Division he found that Negroes were running the entire Division. ~~(S)~~(u)

An individual described by LAWRENCE as EARL JONES (informant advised that this may be a Party name) who is believed by informant to be an actor or an artist, was found by LAWRENCE to be using the "White Chauvinism" line to terrorize white women. The women were reluctant to resist him because they feared that they would have charges preferred against them. LAWRENCE investigated JONES and determined that he had been arrested several times but there were no convictions. JONES being of the Negro race and never having been convicted, caused LAWRENCE to conclude that he was an FBI Agent. LAWRENCE preferred charges against him and he was expelled as an enemy agent. JONES' wife was described by LAWRENCE as a good Party person who was allowed to remain in the Party. ~~(S)~~(u)

Concerning membership in the Cultural Division, LAWRENCE stated that many Party members have dropped, and that it is difficult to get new members. LAWRENCE told informant that he is employed full-time by the Party. ~~(S)~~(u)

SY GERSON and GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY ~~(S)~~(u)

According to LAWRENCE, SY GERSON and GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY are presently in charge of the New York District. ~~(S)~~(u)

LEON JOSEPHSON ~~(S)~~(u)

JOSEPHSON according to informant is employed as a cashier in his brother BARNEY JOSEPHSON'S restaurant. ~~(S)~~(u)

SAC NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

RE: CP-USA

In May, 1953, a small group meeting was held at JOSEPHSON's residence at which HARRY HARWOOD gave a report on two National Secretariat meetings held in May, 1953, on the "Negro Question." (u)

Those present at this gathering in addition to JOSEPHSON were MARCEL SCHERER, WILLIAM LAWRENCE, HARRY HAYWOOD and informant. (u)

JOSEPHSON told informant that he had been subpoenaed to testify before a Congressional Committee and had refused to answer most of the questions. He expects that some consequences, possibly perjury charges may result from this appearance. (u)

In connection with the questions he was asked, JOSEPHSON said that many concerning "Cafe Society" were concrete and indicated that information came from inner-party sources. He specifically referred to questions concerning dates on which LEM HARRIS collected monies at "Cafe Society." (u)

JOSEPHSON told informant that the CP had selected him to act as an intermediary to deal with EARL BROWDER in which an offer was to be made to give BROWDER "any Party" position if he would keep his "mouth shut." He confirmed the fact that FOSTER had consented to go along with the proposition even though he "hates" BROWDER. JOSEPHSON told informant that when BROWDER wrote his articles condemning Russia, the Party of course was unable to follow through on the contemplated approach. (u)

Informant was told by JOSEPHSON that he feels that he is not being fully utilized by the Party at the present time. He did some work on the brief in connection with amnesty for the Smith Act victims. The JOSEPHSONS are still negotiating to purchase a restaurant in New Jersey. JOSEPHSON according to informant, has one of the best Marx-Lenin libraries in the country. Complete information on the National Secretariat meetings and on BROWDER is set out in referenced Chicago letter. (u)

The information concerning the Secretariat Report and the BROWDER Matter must be most carefully handled because of the extremely limited number of people who know of these matters. If interviews are conducted with any of the individuals mentioned no reference should be made to this information. (u)

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SAC, NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

RE: CP-USA

[LENA SCHERER] (~~S~~) (U)

Some of the information obtained by informant from this source has been furnished under separate letter. (~~S~~) (U)

SCHERER told informant that she has not yet been put to work in her Party cadre assignment for the New York District. In the meantime, she is attending her unit meetings and continues to see her close friends, HARRY HAWOOD, WILLIAM LAWRENCE, the JOSEPHSONS and others and keeps abreast of current national and New York State happenings in this manner. (~~S~~) (U)

[AL LANNON] (~~S~~) (U)

SCHERER prior to her last trip to Washington, saw AL LANNON who was then in the hospital. (~~S~~) (U)

LANNON was full of complaints because the Party had not taken care of his family financially. He drew up a document of complaints to the CP and gave a copy of it to LENA SCHERER with the understanding that it would be placed in the hands of "people" from the "big country." SCHERER told informant that she turned over the paper to "responsible" people. (~~S~~) (U)

Regarding the trips to Washington, which the SCHERERS have taken during the past several months, the informant was unable to obtain specific information. SCHERER did tell informant that "people in Washington" are well aware of the failures of the CP in this country, however, they do not want to make the mistake of creating another "Duclos" situation and for the time being at least prefer to "wait it out" by other means. (~~S~~) (U)

[NAT ROSS] (~~S~~) (U)

SCHERER told informant that NAT ROSS is now working as a shipping clerk after building up a series of references through employments in a number of shops. (~~S~~) (U)

Informant in commenting on the ability of ROSS stated that he should not be underestimated in connection with Party work. Informant advised that he was one of the last persons to leave (~~S~~) (U)

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SAC NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~
RE: CP-USA

Russia where he was a correspondent during the war. ROSS did important Party work in the South and once was the District Organizer in Minnesota. He was international connections and has retained connections in the South. ~~(S)~~ (u)

[Party Position on Retention of A.L.P. in New York as Result of December 28, 1952, National Committee Resolution of CP.] ~~(S)~~ (u)

SCHERER told informant that since the CP came out with its new policy for work in "Mass Organizations" under the "United Front" program some Communists in New York interpret the resolution of December 28, 1952, to mean that it is an order to liquidate the A.L.P. This is not the Party position however, since the C.P. interprets the political situation in New York as justifying continuance of the A.L.P. The Party position is that it wants the A.L.P. to form a "United Front" with other political parties on candidates and issues so that "liberal" candidates will run for office. ~~(S)~~ (u)

MARCANTONIO has taken issue with the Communists and says the resolution does mean liquidation of ALP because the ALP has no one to form coalitions with. SCHERER commented that MARCANTONIO is "caught" and having a hard time preserving the ALP. He is, however, meeting quite frequently with the head of Tammany Hall trying to work out certain agreements. ~~(S)~~ (u)

[WILLIAM WEINER] ~~(S)~~ (u)

Informant advised that during May, 1953, WEINER was ill with a heart condition. For a time, he was treated by a Dr. AARON with offices in Manhattan. ~~(S)~~ (u)

During a short stay in the hospital, WEINER was visited by such persons as BETTY GANNETT, ISADORE WOFSEY, and LEM HARRIS was available to him "on call." ~~(S)~~ (u)

WEINER discussed a recent surveillance of him in detail and told informant that the surveillance had kept him from attending an "important meeting" with people from "outside" but he has since met with these people. ~~(S)~~ (u)

SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP - USA

JOE NORTH (S) (v) ~~SECRET~~

WEINER told informant that JOE NORTH is completing "BOB" MINOR's biography. NORTH is also writing an "auto-biographical" novel which WEINER described as "not bad". (S) (v)

PHILIP BONOSKY (S) (v)

Concerning PHILIP BONOSKY the author of "Brother BILL MC KIE" WEINER told informant that he is busy reviewing several manuscripts for "New Century". (S) (v)

SAM SILLEN (S) (v)

WEINER told informant that SILLEN is a capable literary man but lacks initiative. He is doing some editing for "Masses and Mainstream". Informant described SILLEN as superior to any of the "left wing" authors. (S) (v)

MILTON HOWARD (S) (v)

WEINER described MILTON HOWARD as having a good grasp of "Marxism" and as a good writer but as being a "wise guy". (S) (v)

HOWARD FAST (S) (v)

WEINER stated that FAST's recent writings, particularly "Sparticus" have not been up to standards set by the Party and for that reason he is not considered a good Party writer. WEINER said there is no doubt about his loyalty to the Party but he has no grasp of "Marxism" and is too much of an individualist in his writings. "Sparticus" was described by WEINER as bad from a literary and research point of view. WEINER commented, however, that FAST's services "for the cause" will continue to be welcomed. (S) (v)

V.J. JEROME (S) (v)

WEINER has no use for JEROME who he describes as a "self-seeking" individual who wants "everything" for JEROME. (S) (v)

HERBERT APTHEKER (S) (v)

APTHEKER according to WEINER is working on "Political Affairs" and for "New Masses". (S) (v)

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SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

Concerning WEINER himself, the informant was told that he, WEINER, is attempting to operate a legitimate appliance business where he will be able to sell appliances at discounts. ~~(S)~~ (U)

He had rented a hotel room and installed a telephone and was just getting started when he became ill. ~~(S)~~ (U)

WEINER's son-in-law, MILTON HELLER is employed as a foreman at "Prompt Press". He dislikes the job because he has to work with one, COHEN, who he suspects as an enemy agent because he obtained a passport to visit France. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Concerning COHEN, WEINER told informant that he still has "Prompt Press" stock in his name and while it is a Party business, COHEN has never signed over his stock in the business as is customary in these matters. WEINER told informant that while HELLER and COHEN disagree, and HELLER wants to leave the business, he cannot do it because he is assigned to the Party task of controlling COHEN. ~~(S)~~ (U)

WEINER told informant that he himself is having a difficult time in connection with his Party work. He said that he finds himself constantly in the middle in conflicts between the open and underground leaders in reference to finances. He complained that the "Young leaders" do not understand the difficulties of finances. ~~(S)~~ (U)

He told informant that he has contact with certain underground leadership from time to time but names were not mentioned. He added that communications with underground leadership are very difficult and time consuming. ~~(S)~~ (U)

ISADORE WOFSEY ~~(S)~~ (U)

Informant observed that WOFSEY is the contact man for WILLIAM WEINER and sees the leading Party people. He does not operate in the open and was observed by informant to move around a great deal. He is believed by informant to be a "key person" in Party communications with open and underground personnel. ~~(S)~~ (U)

STANLEY and ROY LEVISON ~~(S)~~ (U)

STANLEY LEVISON is known to meet Party people at the Public Library ~~(S)~~ (U)

SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

located on Fifth Avenue, New York, and also to meet certain people at his residence. (S) (u)

STANLEY LEVISON told informant that PAUL ROBESON has recently made a series of records of popular hymns for use in churches. This is a continuation of the Party program to use ROBESON as a source of fund raising. (S) (u)

He told informant that the FBI had recently checked on him with the building janitor who thinking that the LEVISONs were "nice people" had told LEVISON about the contract. He also told informant that there is a former Secret Service Agent living in his building who he suspected of assisting the FBI. After conversing with this person who was described as talkative, LEVISON concluded that he is not assisting the Bureau. (S) (u)

Informant also met an individual whose first name was RODGER, at the LEVISON residence. He indicated that he was employed by LEVISON as an engineer and said that he lives in Stuyvesant Town. Informant stated that from his conversation, he believes that "RODGER" is at least a Communist sympathizer. (S) (u)

Concerning ROY LEVISON, informant advised that he took part in conversation only in a small way and informant believes that he is of lesser importance in the Communist movement than his brother. (S) (u)

[MARCEL SCHERER] (S) (u)

Informant learned from SCHERER that he and his wife go to Washington to see Representatives and Officials of "Iron Curtain" countries whenever they get a chance to do so or whenever they are invited. He told informant that the Russians are well informed and interested in the Political situation in the American Party. While the Russians would like to see a change in the "Political" sectarian line of the Party, they do not want to interfere openly but prefer to let a correct line develop in a normal way. (S) (u)

The SCHERERS plan to vacation at Pat Toohey's Farm in New Jersey for a week this summer. (S) (u)

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SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

[HOWARD and ANN BOLDT]

HOWARD BOLDT told informant that his difficulty at the "Daily Worker" originated with the Party case against his wife. The Party next charged him with having "petty bourgeoisie" tendencies.

BOLDT told informant that "ignorant" people such as ABNER BERRY really run the "Daily Worker".

The official reason for BOLDT's dismissal from the "Daily Worker" was for "economy" purposes.

BOLDT told informant that he was contacted by the FBI on the street near his residence. He said that certain personal matters were discussed with him by the FBI, that indicated a "leak" close to him. These matters included references to his wife's recent illness.

BOLDT told informant that SAM DON originally got him in trouble with the Party. DON has since been expelled for "white Chauvinism".

ANN BOLDT's case has not been ruled on by the Party. The Party position is that she was not disciplined but was instead just told that she should get better educated at the Jefferson School.

["Daily Worker"]

According to BOLDT, the "Daily Worker" circulation is not increasing and it is "rough financially" also.

The "Daily Worker" expects Department of Justice indictment soon and is preparing for it.

[PHIL CABOT]

On June 12, 1953, the informant orally advised SA CARL N. FREYMAN that HARRY HAYWOOD, LEON JOSEPHSON and LENA SCHERER had said the CP is suspicious that CABOT is an "enemy agent".

Informant was told that CABOT had apparently broken with the Party about the time of the second Smith Act Trial in New York. The

SAC NEW YORK

RE: CP-USA

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Party feared that because he had been a member of the Central Commission, in custody of records, that he would appear as a government witness. Efforts by JOSEPHSON and others to contact him were negative for a time and for a time he rebuffed every effort of the Party to talk to him. (S) (u)

Suddenly, he began to appear more frequently at meetings including mass meetings and made special efforts to seek out comrades and talk to them. This aroused the suspicion of the Party because of the sudden contrast in his attitude after complete inactivity and isolation. Now he appears eager to broaden his contacts and leading people are questioning his reliability. (S) (u)

Informant advised that today the wider contacts a person seeks, the greater the suspicion of the Party. The fewer contacts a person makes today and the less eagerness he shows to make new contacts, the greater is the reliability the Party places on him. (S) (u)

It is again emphasized that the above information must be most carefully handled especially if persons mentioned herein are interviewed in order to afford this highly placed informant maximum security. (S) (u)

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~~SECRET~~

SAC, New York (100-105630)

July 10, 1953

PERSONAL ATTENTION

gnt Director, FBI (100-202538)

LENIN SCHOOL, aka
Lenin Institute
International Lenin Institute
International Leninist Institute
International Lenin School
INTERNAL SECURITY - R
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

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b7C

Reference is made to SAC letter, Number 60, dated June 16, 1951, transmitting to each Office a summary dated April 24, 1951, concerning the Lenin School. Also transmitted to each Office as an enclosure to the SAC letter was an alphabetical list of those individuals who have been reported to have attended the Lenin School.

As a supplement to the above, there is attached, for each Office receiving copies of this letter, an enclosure containing a summary of the information available concerning the courses of instruction given at the Lenin School, the confidential informants and sources available, and a list of those individuals who have reportedly attended the Lenin School. For your assistance in referring to this material, the enclosure has been broken down into three sections as follows:

Section 1 (Pages 1 through 14):

This Section contains a summary of the additional data available in Bureau files concerning the courses of instruction given at the Lenin School and the revolutionary nature of the subjects that were taught in the School.

1 ENCL.

Section 2 (Pages 15 through 21):

This Section contains background data concerning the available confidential informants, confidential sources, and identity of other witnesses, all of whom have attended the Lenin School and are in a position to furnish information concerning it. It is believed that the identifying data set forth will assist each Office in determining the extent of an informant's knowledge concerning the Lenin School, as well as his

Attachment

NOTE: Two cc's with one copy of attachment to all Field Offices.

NOT RECORDED

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

knowledge of over-all Communist activities. It will be noted that the period of each informant's attendance at the Lenin School is set forth in order to assist each Office in setting forth leads for interview purposes.

Section 3 (Pages 22 through 101):

This Section contains the supplemental alphabetical summary of those persons who have reportedly attended the Lenin School. It contains the name, aliases, Bureau file number, Office of Origin file number, and identifying data concerning each individual. The identifying data set forth herein should not be considered as a complete summary of the person's Communist Party activity. The identifying data is set forth herein to assist each Office in identifying those who attended the Lenin School, when conducting interviews with graduates of this School. Where mention is made in this Section that a photograph is available, this refers to the fact that a photograph is available in the files of the Office of Origin and the individual case file at the Bureau.

The Bureau desires that additional witnesses be developed to show that those who attended the Lenin School were taught courses or received assignments in espionage, counterespionage, or sabotage tactics in an effort to bring the Lenin School within the purview of Section 20 (a) of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Each Field Office should conduct all investigations with this thought in mind. For your information, the Bureau has furnished a copy of the summary memorandum of April 24, 1951, to the Criminal Division, and a copy of Section 1, pages 1 through 14, of this attachment has been made available to the Criminal Division.

All Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed as follows:

(1) The alphabetical list dated April 24, 1951, previously furnished each Office, together with Section 3 attached hereto, should be carefully reviewed. This review should be conducted in an effort to identify those whose first, last or Communist Party name only is known, as well as to identify those on whom no paragraph of background data has been reported herein. Section 3 sets forth background data on those who are subjects of main case files in the Bureau and where background information was readily available in the Bureau's files.

(2) Each Office should make certain when an individual is identified as having received training at the Lenin School that a separate case file is opened and a thorough investigation conducted in accordance with Section 87C4, page 23B, of the Manual of Instructions.

(3) Each Office should analyze the individual case file on each subject who has attended the Lenin School for the purpose of seeing that data concerning his or her attendance has been fully developed. During the course of these individual file reviews you should give consideration to interviewing every student who attended the Lenin School where it is possible to do so under existing regulations relating to interviews with security subjects. In these instances where an interview is being recommended a letter should be directed to the Bureau captioned under the name of the individual subject.

(4) Each Office should make certain that data concerning the courses taught and revolutionary nature of the Lenin School presently appearing in your files, as well as the material developed in future interviews of subjects in individual cases, is reported in the Lenin School file. Each Office should make available to the Bureau and the New York Office any data appearing in your files concerning the Lenin School where same has not been previously reported. It is the responsibility of each Office to see that data concerning the Lenin School obtained in the future is made available to the Bureau and the New York Office. This includes designating copies of reports to the New York Office, for the Lenin School file, which contain the results of interviews with individual subjects who have attended the Lenin School.

In view of the fact that the majority of the American students who attended the Lenin School now reside in the New York area, the New York Office is being designated as the Office of Origin. It will be the responsibility of the New York Office to make certain that over-all data concerning activity at the Lenin School, the courses taught, and the revolutionary nature of such instruction as developed in the interviews are properly summarized and reported in the Lenin School file in report form suitable for dissemination.

The Bureau has noted from interviews with former students, particularly Confidential Informants, that due to the lapse of time since they have attended the Lenin School they have been unable, in most instances, to recall more than a very few names. It is believed that by carefully reviewing the material attached hereto and familiarizing yourself with it that additional data may be obtained concerning the instructions given, and the identity of other students may be obtained, particularly those whose first, last or Communist Party name is known. It is possible that the whereabouts of some of the former students heretofore unknown may be revealed.

Each Office should promptly advise the Bureau by letter captioned in the Lenin School file when the above instructions have been complied with. This letter should set forth the name and Bureau file number of those subjects recommended for interview.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: July 10, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson ✓
 Ladd ✓
 Nichols ✓
 Belmont ✓
 Clegg ✓
 Glavin ✓
 Harbo ✓
 Rosen ✓
 Tracy ✓
 Gearty ✓
 Mohr ✓
 Winterrowd ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Holloman ✓
 Sizoo ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

b3

You will recall that recently we learned that [redacted] had interviewed Earl Browder and we made a vigorous protest to Robert Morris. Morris got very much irritated over the [redacted] memorandum because it set forth Browder's charges against former Communists without defending former Communists. I asked Morris for a copy of any memorandum he might write. He had not written any, but stated he would write one. He has not done so to date; however, he did send me a copy of a letter to [redacted] being rather critical wherein he defends former Communists and tells [redacted] to give his letter the same distribution he gave his memorandum.

cc - Mr. Ladd

cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm

Attachment

G.I.R.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

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Best Copy Available

WILLIAM LANGER, N. DAK., CHAIRMAN
ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
WILLIAM E. JENNER, IND.
ARTHUR V. WATKINS, IOWA
ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON, N. J.
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, ILL.
HERMAN WELKER, IDAHO
JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, MD.
PAT MCCARRAN, N. M.
HARLEY M. KILGORE, W. VA.
JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS.
ESTES KEFAUVER, TENN.
WILLIS SMITH, N. C.
OLIN D. JOHNSTON, S. C.
THOMAS C. HENNING, JR., MO.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

b6
b7C

July 2, 1953

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

DELIVERED BY HAND

[redacted]
Washington, D. C.

Dear [redacted]

In connection with your memorandum on your conversation with Earl Browder, dated April 8, 1953, I was very sorry that you put that to writing. The derogatory references to Ben Gitlow, J. B. Matthews, Joe Zack and Louis Budenz are understandable, knowing the source.

Browder, in his extreme stubbornness, has been condemning every ex-Communist who has done what he himself must somehow feel a compulsion to do, namely, to help the free world against Communist conspirators. The fact that he elects to pursue a course of conduct that will preserve his pride should not in any way be interpreted as being in derogation of those who have chosen a direct course. He particularly hates Budenz because he feels that Budenz' emergence as the principal witness in support of the McCarthy charges prevented the United States recognition of Red China and its admission into the United Nations. Red China's performance since that time, it seems, amply refutes Browder's opinion. Because of his interest in China, Browder gets very emotional on the whole Chinese subject.

That this should be put into writing is disturbing. But please give it the same distribution as your memorandum.

Sincerely,

ROBERT MORRIS
Chief Counsel
Internal Security Subcommittee

RM/mjm

40-3798-669
ENCLOSURE

cc L. B. Nichols, together with copy of memorandum

b3

SAC, New York

July 25, 1952

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b7D

Director, FBI

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
ESPIONAGE - R

Elizabeth Bentley, in an appearance before an Executive Session of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (Mc Carran Committee), testified concerning the connection of Henry A. Wallace with the Communist Party.

She stated while she was maintaining liaison with Earl Browder, then head of the CP-USA, he several times spoke to her about Henry A. Wallace. The gist of these conversations, according to Bentley, was that Browder felt every time Wallace carried out CP directives, he came out all right, and Browder said about 90% of the time Wallace would carry out these directives. Browder said, however, when Wallace went off on a crazy direction and tried to do his own thinking, he came out badly. Elizabeth Bentley said she understood the directives from Browder were sent to Wallace through a third person. She placed the dates of her conversations with Earl Browder concerning this matter as subsequent to the death of Jacob Golos in November, 1943, and prior to April or May, 1945.

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b7C

The Bureau has not been able to locate any information concerning the above in the Bureau's files, and it is desired that during your next interview of Elizabeth Bentley, she be pressed for any additional details she has on this matter. She should be asked whether she has any information which would identify the person who allegedly carried the directives between Browder and Wallace. Your attention is also directed to the fact that we received the data concerning this matter from the McCarran Committee on a confidential basis with an agreement that it would not be disseminated without the specific permission of the Committee.

ENCLOSURE

RJR:jl/

cc: 62-71788

~~200-12244~~

62-88217

NOT RECORDED

105 JUL 31 1952

DUPLICATE YELLOW

68 AUG 21 313

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Laughlin _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/3/01 BY [REDACTED]

AIR-TEL
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NEW YORK, 7/30/53

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS; IS-C. THE NEW YORK "DAILY MIRROR" OF 7/27/53 REFLECTS IN THE COLUMN BY WALTER WINCHELL THAT THE SUBJECT AND HIS WIFE WERE NOW LIVING APART DUE TO SOME POLITICAL ARGUMENT.

[REDACTED] WHOSE IDENTITY SHOULD BE PROTECTED. [REDACTED]

OF THE

SUBJECT AND HIS WIFE, ADVISED THAT HE SAW EARL BROWDER AND HIS WIFE TOGETHER ON 7/25/53 AND AGAIN ON 7/27/53 AND THAT TO HIS OBSERVATION AND KNOWLEDGE THEY WERE LIVING TOGETHER [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FOR INFORMATION.

BOARDMAN

- ③ - BUREAU (REGISTERED MAIL) (REGULAR MAIL)
1 - NY (100-14205)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/11/99 BY [REDACTED]

CC: MR. BELMONT
AND SUPERVISOR
DOM. INTEL. DIVISION

b6
b7c

RECORDED - 46

EX-103

WTC:MOK (#7)
100-25693-
Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (40-3798)

FROM : SAC, New York (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER was
IS-C

DATE: July 31, 1953

Caru U.I.D.
8-12-53

It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

X The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (Specify change only)

NAME _____

ALIASES _____

NATIVE BORN _____ NATURALIZED _____ ALIEN _____

COMMUNIST _____ SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY _____ INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE _____

MISCELLANEOUS (Specify) _____

TAB FOR DETCOM _____ TAB FOR COMSAB _____ RACE _____ SEX _____

DATE OF BIRTH _____ PLACE OF BIRTH _____

BUSINESS ADDRESS (Show name of employing concern and address) _____

~~Maintains a work space at his place of residence and is engaged in writing~~

Writer at residence

NATURE OF INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS (Specify from Vital Facility List)

RESIDENCE ADDRESS _____

DHL:mat

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/11/99 BY [redacted]

40-3798

b6
b7C
b7D

Best Copy Available

SAC, New York

July 30, 1953

Director, FBI (62-98810)

INFORMATION CENTERS

Part I of the Hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations (McCarthy Committee) on March 24, 25 and 26, 1953, in Public Session.

The following persons testified on the dates indicated above before the McCarthy Committee in connection with that Committee's hearings on the State Department Information Program - Information Centers: James S. Allen, Earl Russell Browder, Prof. Louis Francis Budenz, Helen Goldfrank, Samuel Dashiell Barnett, Langston Hughes, William Marx Mandel, Lawrence K. Rosinger and Edwin Seaver. The above, with the exception of Budenz, for the most part exercised their privilege against self-incrimination and refused to answer questions pertaining to their Communist Party membership and activities.

Attached hereto for the New York, Boston and Detroit offices is a copy of the printed transcript of the above-referred-to testimony. You should note that this is Public Session testimony and can be disseminated outside the Bureau.

New York will review the testimony of Allen, Browder, Budenz, Goldfrank, Barnett, Hughes and Mandel; Boston will review the testimony of Seaver; and Detroit will review the testimony of Rosinger for any leads concerning their background and activities of the respective subjects as listed above. These offices should also include a summary of the testimony of each of the above located in their territories in the next report submitted on each of those subjects.

Attachment

- 2 - SAC, Boston (Attachment)
- 2 - SAC, Detroit (Attachment)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/29/80 BY 5/11/99

HWS:bja

cc: Mr. Ladd
cc: Mr. Nichols

cc: 100-28831
40-3798
100-63
100-55726
100-14499
100-15139
100-2224
100-13039
61-11427

YELLOW
DUPLICATE
JUL 31 1953
MAILED

Note:

A review of this testimony reflects no new and pertinent information requiring further investigation at this time. Printed copies are being forwarded to New York, Boston and Detroit and one copy is being filed in the McCarthy Committee Control file, 62-98810.

NOT RECORDED
89 AUG 4 1953

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Gearty
Mohr
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Sizoo
Miss Gandy

b3

b6
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Vm*DATE: August 8, 1953 *8/8*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER

Tolson	✓
Ladd	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Clegg	✓
Glavin	✓
Harbo	✓
Rosen	✓
Tracy	✓
Gearty	✓
Mohr	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Sizoo	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

For record purposes, Bob Morris advised that on Friday he had a luncheon engagement with John Rogge; that unbeknownst to him, Rogge showed up for lunch and brought Earl Browder with him. Nothing unusual transpired and Morris is of the opinion Rogge is still trying to break Browder down. During the course of the luncheon, Browder talked in terms of the Communist Party being a political movement. Morris challenged him on this and asked him what about the conspiratorial aspect of the Communist Party. Browder admitted this was not a political movement, but stated there were almost as many FBI Agents in the Communist Party as there were Soviet agents. At another point, Browder complained about his son having a difficult time at the Military Institute of Technology. Morris told Browder this was all Browder's fault; that if Browder came around and made a full confession and denounced Communism, his son would not have any trouble. Browder agreed to this.

Vm
von
cc: Mr. Ladd
Mr. Belmont

*7D 205, 8/24/53 advised
rpt. by 9/15/53 - Rpt. prepared.*

LBN:MP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/3/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

RECORDED - 94

INDEXED - 94

EX-103

11 - 2777 - 677
25 AUG 12 1953

~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III
Criminal Division

August 3, 1953

Director, FBI

40-3798-672

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INTERNAL SECURITY

RECORDED-119 FBI File 40-3798-39

[Handwritten signature and date]
12-3-01

b6
b7c

Frank S. Meyer, a former witness at the Smith Act trial of the New York Communist Party leaders, and an associate of Browder in the middle 1940's, advised on July 28, 1953, that the Workers Defense League contemplates assisting in the defense of Irene Browder in her forthcoming trial on perjury charges, if it can be shown to the satisfaction of the Workers Defense League that she is not a member of the Communist Party.

Terence McCarthy and Roland Watts, of the Workers Defense League, have requested Meyer to meet with Earl Browder in the near future. Informant indicated that this was possibly an effort on the part of Browder to convince Meyer that his wife Irene has not been a member of the Communist Party.

Meyer described McCarthy and Watts as Socialists and anti-Communists.

The above is submitted for your information and the results of the meeting between Browder and Meyer, if held, will be furnished you at a later date.

cc: Bureau (39-878)

COMM - FBI
AUG 3 1953
MAILED 30

TDR:wjs

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Gearty _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
 Sizoo _____
Miss Gandy _____

~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 28 1953

TELETYPE

WASH 5 FROM NEW YORK 28 8-12 PM
DIRECTOR URGENT

EPNL 7/11/53
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER WAS, IS - C. FRANK S. MEYER, RELIABLE CONTACT
OF THIS OFFICE, WITNESS AT THE TRIAL OF THE CP LEADERS, AND ASSOCIATE
OF BROWDER IN THE MIDDLE FORTIES, APPEARED AT THE NYO TODAY AND
ADVISED SA DAMON W. PITCHER THAT AT THE BEHEST OF TERENCE MC CARTHY
AND ROWLAND WATTS OF THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE, BOTH OF WHOM ARE
SOCIALISTS AND ANTI-COMMUNISTS HE IS TO MEET WITH EARL BROWDER AT
WATTS- RESIDENCE, PLEASANTVILLE, NY, ON THE EVENING OF JULY TWENTYNINTH
NEXT. MC CARTHY AND WATTS STATE THAT THE WDL WILL UNDERTAKE TO

DEFEND IRENE BROWDER IF IT CAN BE SHOWN THAT SHE IS NOT A CP MEMBER.
THEY INTERVIEWED MEYER PREVIOUSLY CONCERNING THAT AND EXPRESSED THE
OPINION THAT SHE WAS NOT A MEMBER. MEYER EXPRESSED A CONTRARY OPINION
TO THEM. THE SCHEDULED MEETING OSTENSIBLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF BROWDER
CONVINCING MEYER THAT HIS WIFE HAS NOT BEEN A CP MEMBER. MEYER UN-
CERTAIN THAT BROWDER WILL ACTUALLY APPEAR BUT INTENDS TO APPEAR HIMSELF
WILL FURNISH FULL DETAILS OF THE MEETING IF SAME ACTUALLY OCCURS. THE
BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED.

BOARDMAN

HLD

RECORDED-119

AUG 5 1953

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/11/99 BY

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 28 1953

~~TELETYPE~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/11/99 BY [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. E. A. Tamm	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Winterrowd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Holloman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

b6
b7C

WASH 11 FROM NEW YORK 29 10-53 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

Re: Earl Russell Browder

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS, IS DASH C. RENVTEL TO BUREAU JULY TWENTY EIGHT FIFTYTHREE. FRANK S. MEYER ADVISED THIS DATE THAT TERENCE MC CARTHY STATED THAT BROWDER IS NOT AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW AND THAT MC CARTHY WILL ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE FOR A FUTURE INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE INFORMANT AND BROWDER. MEYER STATED HE WOULD ADVISE THIS OFFICE WHEN THIS INTERVIEW IS SCHEDULED.

HLD

INS
8/3/53

BOARDMAN

44-673

RECORDED-119

EX-127

AUG 5 1953

*ONE 17 [unclear] [unclear]
[unclear] [unclear]*